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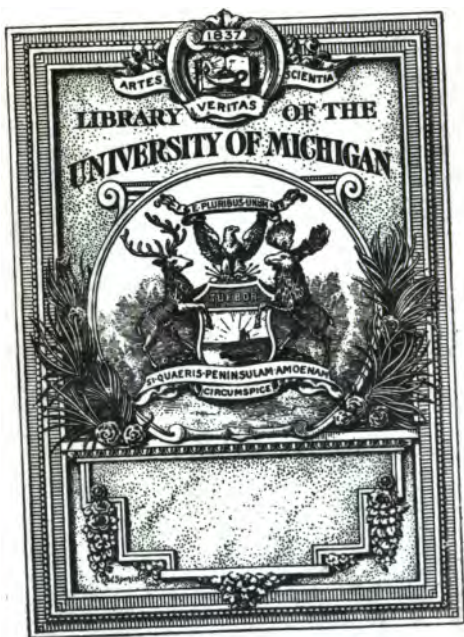
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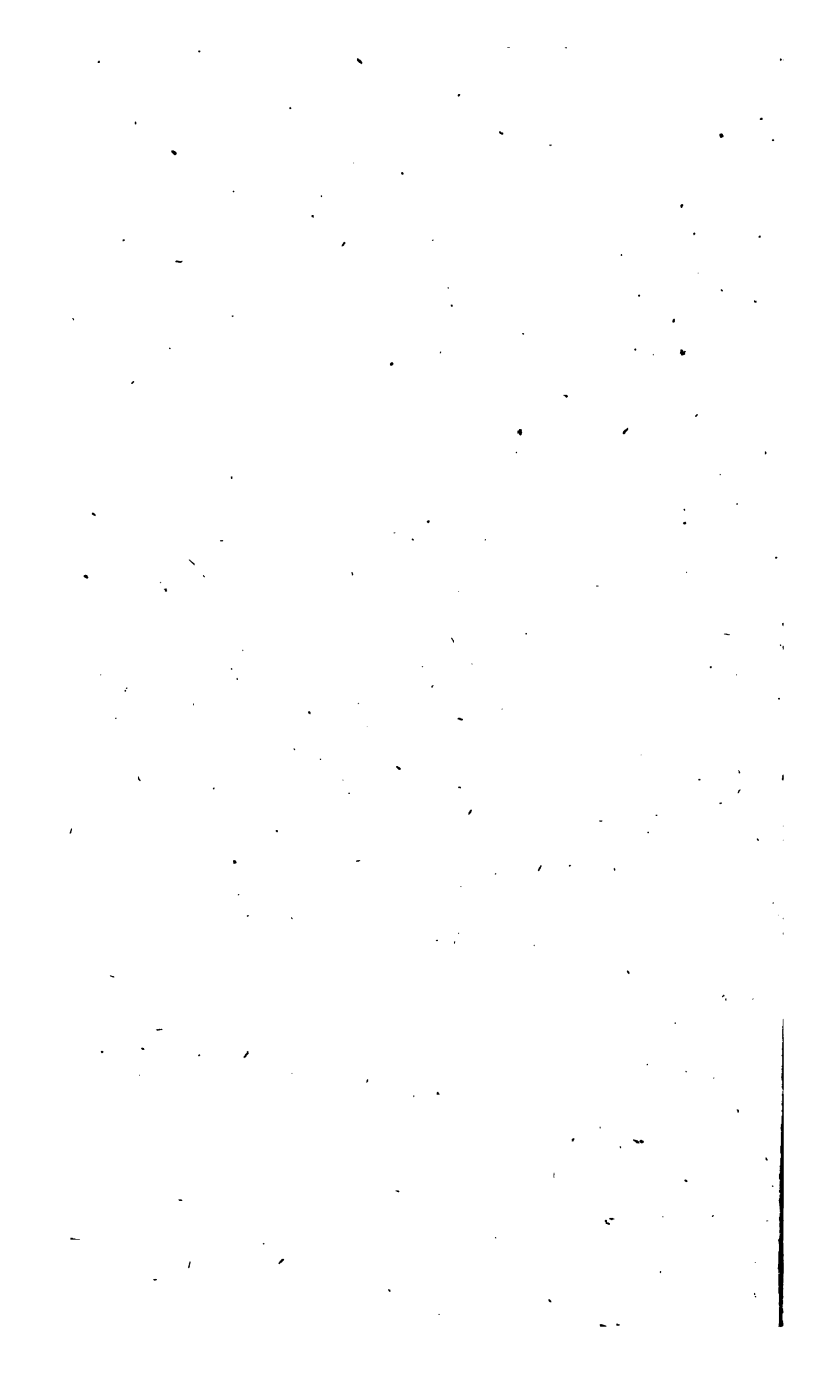


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1804



A
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL C
HISTORY
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
EUROPEANS
IN THE
EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BY THE ABBE RAYNAL.

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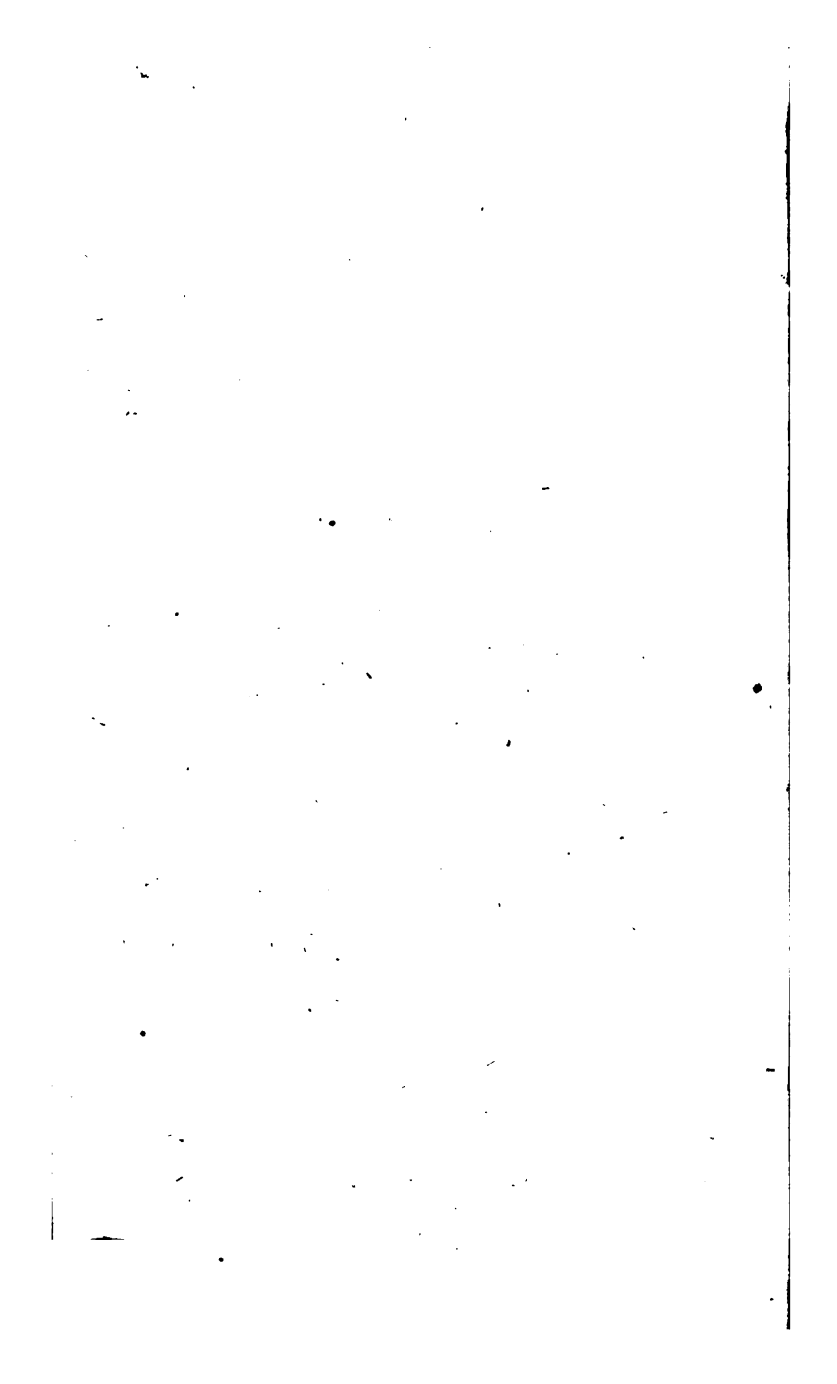
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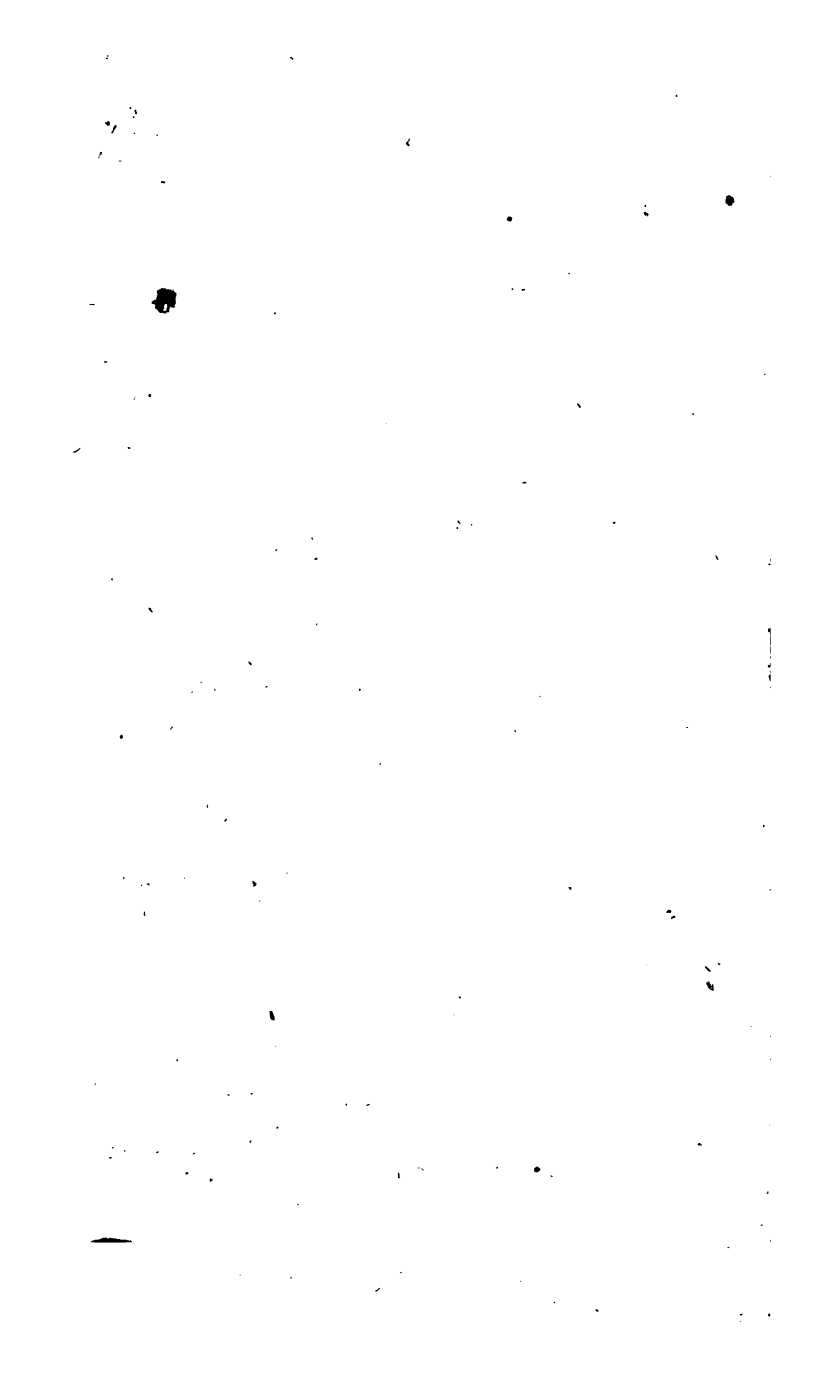
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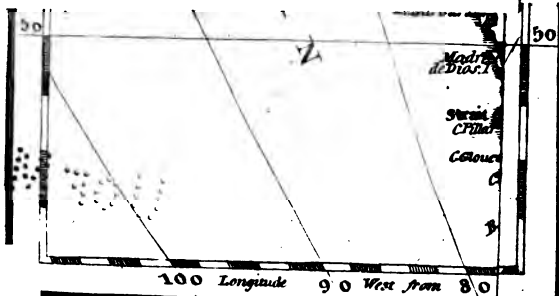
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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY
 OF THE
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EUROPEANS
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BOOK VII.

CONQUEST OF PERU BY THE SPANIARDS. CHANGES THAT
 HAVE HAPPENED IN THIS EMPIRE SINCE THAT REVOLU-
 TION.

It has not been my intention to be the panegyrist of the conquerors of the other hemisphere. I have not suffered my judgment to be so far misled by the brilliancy of their successes, as to be blind to their crimes and acts of injustice. My view is to write history, and I almost always write it with my eyes bathed in tears. Astonishment hath sometimes succeeded grief. I have been surpris'd that none of these savage warriors should have preferred the more certain mode of mildness and humanity, and that they should have rather chosen to shew themselves as tyrants than as benefactors. What strange infatuation hath prevented them from perceiving, that, while they destroyed the countries which they seized upon, they were injuring themselves, and that their cruelties obliged them to give up a more quiet and more lucrative possession of them? It hath been asserted, that, in countries where man had not yet appeared, the most timid animals came near him without fear. I can never be persuaded,

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that, at the first aspect of an European, the savage man can have been more wild than the animals. It was undoubtedly a fatal experience which informed him of the danger of such familiarity.

What then ! Shall nations be more cruel among themselves, than the most oppressive sovereigns are towards their subjects ? One society must then devour another ! Man will be more fierce than the tyger ! Shall reason have been given to him merely as a substitute in him to every maleficent instinct ; and shall his annals be nothing more than the annals of his perverseness ? O God ! why didst thou create man ? Thou certainly didst know, that, for one instant in which thou shouldst be able to look upon thy work with complacency, thou shouldst turn thine eyes away from it a hundred times ! Thy prescience certainly foresaw the atrocious acts which the Spaniards were to commit in the New World !

We are here going to display scenes still more terrible than those which have so often made us shudder. They will be uninterruptedly repeated in those immense regions which remain for us to go over. The sword will never be blunted ; and we shall not see it stop till it meets with no more victims to strike.

*Extravagances
and cruelties
that mark the
first steps of the
Spaniards in
South America.*

We shall again begin our accounts with Columbus. This great man had discovered the continent of America without ever landing upon it. It was not till after the island of San Domingo was firmly established, that he thought proper to extend his enterprises. He imagined, that beyond this continent there was another ocean, which must terminate at the East Indies ; and that these two seas might have a communication with each other. In order to discover it, he sailed, in 1502, as close along the coast as possible. He touched at all places that were accessible ; and, contrary to the custom of other navigators who behaved in the countries which they visited in such a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with a degree of kindness that

gained their affection. The gulf of Darien particularly engaged his observation. He thought that the rivers which poured into it were the great canal he had been in search of through so many imminent dangers and excessive fatigues. Disappointed in these expectations, he wished to leave a small colony upon the river Belem, in the country of Veragua. The avidity, the pride, and the barbarism of his countrymen prevented him from having the satisfaction of forming the first European establishment upon the continent of the new hemisphere.

Some years elapsed after this, and still the Spaniards had not fixed themselves upon any spot. As these adventurers only received from government the permission of making discoveries, it never once entered their minds to employ themselves in agriculture or commerce. The prospect of distant fortunes that might have been made by these prudent means, was far above the prejudices of these barbarous times. There was nothing but the allurements of immediate gain that could stimulate men to enterprises so bold as those for which this century was distinguished. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diseases, and death, which they were exposed to in the course of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and, by a terrible but just vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans, and their lust of gold, exhausted at once the two hemispheres of their inhabitants, and destruction raged equally among those who were the plunderers and assassins, as among the plundered people.

It was not till the year 1509, that Ojeda and Niqueffa formed, though separately, the design of making solid and lasting conquests. To encourage them in their resolution, Ferdinand gave to the first the government of the countries that begin at Cape de la Vela, and terminate at the gulf of Darien: and to the second, that of all the space extending from this famous gulf to Cape Gracias a Dios. They were both of them to announce to the people, at their landing, the tenets of the christian religion, and to inform them of the gift which the Roman pontiff had made of their country to the king of Spain. If the savages re-

refused to submit quietly to this double yoke, the Spaniards were authorised to pursue them with fire and sword, and to reduce whole nations to slavery.

Is it then the head of the most holy of all religion who gives to another what does not belong to him? And is it a christian sovereign who accepts of the gift? And are the conditions agreed upon between them, submission to the European monarch, or slavery; baptism, or death. Upon the bare recital of a contract so unheard-of, we shudder with horror, and we pronounce, that the man who does not partake of the same sensation, is a stranger to every idea of morality, to every sentiment, and to every notion of justice; a man who is unworthy of being argued with. Abominable pontiff! And if these countries of which thou dost dispose have a lawful proprietor, is it thy advice that he should be spoiled of them? If they have a legitimate sovereign, is it thy advice that his subjects should break their allegiance? If they have gods, is it thy advice that they should be impious? And thou, stupid prince, dost thou not perceive, that the person who confers these rights upon thee, arrogates them to himself; and that, by accepting of them, thou dost abandon thy country, thy sceptre, and thy religion, to the mercy of an ambitious sophist, and of the most dangerous system of machiavelism?

But it was a more easy matter to grant these absurd and atrocious privileges, than to put the barbarous and end superstitious adventurers, who solicited such rights, in possession of them. The Indians rejected every kind of intercourse with a set of rapacious strangers, who threatened equally their life and their liberty. Arms were not more favourable to the Spaniards, than their perfidious caresses. The people of the continent, accustomed to carry on war with each other, received them with a boldness unexperienced in the islands that had been so easily subdued. Poisoned arrows were showered upon them from all quarters; and not one of those that were wounded escaped a death more or less dreadful. To the arrows of the enemy, other causes of destruction were soon joined; shipwrecks unavoidable in these unknown latitudes; an almost continual want of subsistence upon a country totally

uncultivated; and diseases peculiar to this climate, which is the most unwholesome one in America. The few Spaniards who had escaped so many calamities, and who could not return to San Domingo, collected themselves at St. Mary's, in the province of Darien.

They lived there in a state of anarchy, when Vasco Nunez de Balboa appeared among them. This man, who was honoured by the companions of his crimes with the surname of Hercules, had a robust constitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence. These qualities made them choose him for their chief; and all his actions proved that he was worthy to command the villains whose suffrage he had obtained. Judging that more gold would be found in the inland parts than upon the coasts, from whence it had been so repeatedly taken, he plunged himself among the mountains. He found at first in the country, it is said, some of that same species of little white men as are to be met with in Africa, and in certain of the Asiatic islands. They are covered with a down of a glistening white colour. They have no hair; their eyes are red; and they only see well in the night-time. They are feeble; and their faculties appear to be more circumscribed than those of other men. These savages, if it be true that they existed, were few in number; but others were found of a different species, brave and hardy enough to defend their rights. They had a very extraordinary custom among them, which was, that the husbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their husbands, used to cut off the end of a finger; so that by looking merely on their hands, one might see whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been so.

Nothing has hitherto been, or will probably ever be said, that can satisfactorily explain the various perversions of reason. If the women alone had been obliged to practise this whimsical ceremony, it would be natural to suspect that it had been intended to prevent the imposture of a widow, who might wish to pass for a virgin to her second husband. But this conjecture would lose its force, when applied to the husbands, whose condition could never

be a matter of such consequence, as that it should be carefully indicated by indelible signs. This custom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

When a widow died, such of her children whose tender age rendered it impossible for them to provide for their own subsistence, were buried in the same grave with her. As no one would take the charge of these orphans, the nation destroyed them, to prevent their being starved to death. The charity of these barbarians extended no further. This is the most atrocious act to which the deplorable state of savage life was ever able to impel mankind.

Notwithstanding these ferocious manners, Balboa, supported by the obstinacy of his disposition, spurred on by the insatiable cupidity of his soldiers, and with the assistance of some packs of those blood-thirsty dogs which had been of so much service to the Spaniards in all their conquests, at length succeeded in destroying the inhabitants of Darien, and in dispersing or subduing them.

The Spaniards acquire the first notion of Peru.

ONE day, as the conquerors were disputing with each other about gold, with a degree of warmth that seemed to threaten some act of violence, a young cacique overturned the scales in which they were weighing it. *Why,* said he to them, *with an air of disdain, why do you quarrel for such a trifle? If it be for this useless metal that you have quitted your country, and that you massacre so many people, I will conduct you into a region where it is so common, that it is employed for the meanest purposes.* Being urged to explain himself more clearly, he assured them, that, at a little distance from the ocean which washed the country of Darien, there was another ocean which led to this rich country. The opinion immediately and universally prevailed, that this was the sea which Columbus had so earnestly sought after; and, on the first of September 1513, one hundred and ninety Spaniards, attended by a thousand Indians, who were to serve them as guides, and to carry their provisions and baggage, set out to reconnoitre it.

From the place whence this troop began their march, to the one they were going to, there was no more than sixty miles; but it was necessary to climb so many steep mountains, to pass such large rivers, to traverse such deep morasses, to penetrate into such thick forests, and to disperse, persuade, or destroy so many fierce nations; that it was not till after a march of five-and-twenty days, that men accustomed to dangers, fatigues, and wants, arrived at the place of their expectations. Without a moment's delay, Balboa, armed at all points, in the manner of the ancient chivalry, advanced some way into the South sea. *Spectators of both hemispheres*, exclaimed this barbarian, *I call you to witness that I take possession of this part of the universe for the crown of Castile. My sword shall defend what my arm hath given to it.* Already was the cross planted upon the continent, and the name of Ferdinand inscribed upon the bark of some of the trees.

These ceremonies gave to the Europeans in those days the dominion of all the countries in the New World, where they could introduce their sanguinary steps. Accordingly, the Spaniards thought they had a right to exact from the neighbouring people a tribute in pearls, metals, and provisions. Every testimony was united in confirming what had been at first said of the riches of the empire that was called Peru; and the robbers who meditated the conquest of it, returned to Darien, where they were to collect the forces necessary for so difficult an enterprise.

Balboa expected that he should be employed to conduct this great design. His companions had placed their confidence in him. He had thrown into the public coffers more treasure than any one of these adventurers. In the opinion of the public, the discovery he had just made, had put him on a level with Columbus. But by an instance of that injustice and ingratitude so common in courts, where merit cannot prevail against favour; where a great commander is superseded in the midst of his triumphs by an unfit person; where a dissipating and rapacious favourite displaces an economical minister of finance; where the general good, and services done, are equally forgotten; and where revolutions in the great

offices of state often become objects of mirth and pleasantry; Pedrarias was chosen in his stead. The new commander, as jealous as he was cruel, had his predecessor confined; he ordered him to take his trial, and afterwards caused him to be beheaded. His subalterns, by his orders, or with his consent, pillaged, burnt, and massacred on all sides, without any distinction of allies or enemies; and it was not till after they had destroyed to the extent of three hundred leagues of the country, that in 1518 he transferred the colony of St. Mary, on the borders of the Pacific ocean, to a place that received the name of Panama.

Three Spaniards undertake the conquest of Peru without any assistance from government.

SOME years passed away without this establishment having been able to fulfil the great and important purposes for which it was destined. At length, three men of obscure birth undertook, at their own expence, to subvert an empire that had subsisted with glory for several ages.

Francis Pizarro, who is the most known among them, was the natural son of gentleman of Estramadura. His education had been so neglected, that he could not read. The tending of flocks, which was his first employment, not being suitable to his character, he embarked for the New World. His avarice and ambition inspired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and signalized himself in most of them; and he acquired in the several situations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indispensably necessary to advancement, but especially to those who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The use he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, persuaded him that nothing was above his talents; and he formed the plan of exerting them against Peru.

To these designs he associated Diego de Almagro, whose birth was equivocal, but whose courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable, in those camps in which he had grown old.

In this school he had acquired a frankness which is more frequently learnt here than in other situations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

The fortune of two soldiers, though considerable, being found insufficient for the conquest they meditated, they joined themselves to Fernando de Luques. He was a mercenary priest, who had amassed prodigious wealth by all the methods which superstition renders easy to his profession, and by some means peculiar to the manners of the age he lived in.

As the basis of their association, the confederates mutually agreed, that each should engage the whole of his property in this enterprise; that the wealth accruing from it should be equally shared; and that they should reciprocally observe an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great scene were distributed as the good of the common cause required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the succours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferociousness, was completed by fanaticism. Luques publicly consecrated a host; part of which he ate, and divided the rest between his two associates; all three swearing, by the blood of God, that, to enrich themselves, they would not spare the blood of man.

The expedition, commenced under these horrible auspices, towards the middle of November 1524, with one vessel, one hundred and twelve men, and four horse, was not fortunate. It was seldom that Pizarro was able to land; and in the few places where it was possible for him to come on shore, he met with nothing but plains deluged with water, impenetrable forests, and some savages, little disposed to treat with him. Almagro, who brought him a reinforcement of seventy men, did not meet with more encouraging adventures; and he even lost an eye. In a very sharp engagement he was obliged to sustain against the Indians. More than one half of these intrepid Spaniards had perished by hunger, by the sword, or by the climate; when Los Rios, who had succeeded to Pedrarias, sent orders to those who had escaped so many calamities, to return to the colony without delay.

They all obeyed; all of them, except thirteen, who, faithful to their chief, resolved to follow his fortune to the end. They found it at first more adverse than it had hitherto been; for they were obliged to pass six whole months in the island of Gorgon, the most unwholesome, most barren, and most dreadful spot there was perhaps upon the globe. But at length their destiny grew milder: with a very small vessel, which had been sent them merely from motives of compassion, to remove them from this place of desolation, they continued their voyage, and landed at Tumbez, no inconsiderable village of the empire which they proposed one day to invade. From this road, where every thing bore the marks of civilization, Pizarro returned to Panama, where he arrived at the latter end of the year 1527 with some gold dust, some vases of that precious metal, some vicunas, and three Peruvians, destined, sooner or later, to serve as interpreters.

Far from being discouraged by the misfortunes that had been experienced, the three associates were inflamed with a more ardent passion for treasures which were now better known to them. But they were in want of soldiers and of subsistence; and the colony denied them both these succours. The ministry, whose support Pizarro himself had come into Europe to solicit, were more favourably inclined. They authorised, without reserve, the levying of men, and the purchase of provisions; and added to this indefinite liberty every favour which drew nothing from the treasury.

Nevertheless, the associates, by combining all their means, could not equip more than three small vessels; nor collect any more than one hundred and forty-four infantry, and thirty-six horse. This was very little for the great views that were to be fulfilled; but in the New World the Spaniards expected every thing from their arms and their courage; and Pizarro did not hesitate to embark in the month of February 1531. The knowledge he had acquired of these seas, made him avoid the calamities that had thwarted his first expedition; and he met with no other misfortune than that of being obliged, by contrary winds, to land at the distance of one hundred leagues from

the harbour where he had intended to disembark. The Spaniards were therefore obliged to go to the place by land. They followed the coast with great difficulty, compelling the inhabitants on their march to furnish them with provisions, plundering them of the gold they possessed, and giving themselves up to that spirit of rapine and cruelty which distinguished the manners of those barbarous times. The island of Puna, which defended the road, was taken by storm, and the troops entered victorious into Tumbes, where disorders of every kind detained them for three whole months. The arrival of two reinforcements, that came from Nicaragua, afforded them some consolation for the anxiety they felt on account of this delay. These reinforcements, indeed, consisted only of thirty men each; but they were commanded by Sebastian Benalcazar and by Ferdinand Soto, who had both of them acquired a brilliant reputation. The Spaniards were not disturbed in their first conquest, and we must mention the reason of it.

THE empire of Peru, which, like most other dominions, had in its origin but little extent, had been successively enlarged. It had in particular received a considerable aggrandisement from the eleventh emperor, Huyana Capac, who had possessed himself by force of the vast territory of Quito, and who, to legitimate as much as possible his usurpation, had married the sole heiress of the dethroned monarch. From this union, reprobated equally by the laws and by prejudice, Atabalipa was born, who after the death of his father claimed the inheritance of his mother. This succession was contested by his elder brother Huascar, who was born of another bed, and whose birth had no stain upon it. Two such powerful interests induced the competitors to take up arms. One of them had the people in his favour, and the custom immemorial of the indivisibility of the empire; but the other had previously secured the best troops. The one who had the troops on his side was conqueror, put his rival in chains, and becoming more

Manner in which Pizarro makes himself master of the empire.

powerful than he expected, was master of all the provinces.

These troubles, which for the first time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeased when the Spaniards appeared there. In the confusion in which the whole kingdom was still involved, no one thought of molesting them on their march, and they arrived without the least obstruction at Caxamalca. Atabalipa, whom particular circumstances had conducted into the neighbourhood of this imperial palace, immediately sent them some fruits, corn, emeralds, and several vases of gold or silver. He did not however conceal from their interpreter his desire that they should quit his territories; and he declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief the proper measures for this retreat.

To put himself in readiness for an engagement, without suffering the least preparation of war to be perceived, was the only disposition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be seen: the infantry was in the court: and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

Atabalipa came without suspicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thousand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and said to them: *these strangers are the messengers of the gods; be careful of offending them.*

The procession was now drawing near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverde, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He stopped the prince in his march, and made him a long speech, in which he expounded to him the christian religion, pressed him to embrace that form of worship, and proposed to him to submit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

The emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vassal; the pope must surely be a very extraordinary man, to give so liberally what does*

not belong to him. *I shall not change my religion for another; and if the Christians adore a god who died upon a cross, I worship the sun who never dies.* He then asked Vincent where he had learned all that he had said of God and the creation? *In this book,* replied the monk, presenting at the same time his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book; examined it on all sides, fell a laughing, and, throwing away the breviary, added, *this book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance! Christians, do you not see how he despises the gospel? Kill these dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

The Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty restrained that fury, and that thirst of blood, which the sight of the gold and of the infidels had inspired them with, instantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impression that must have been made on the Peruvians by the sight of the horses who trampled upon them, and by the noise and effect of the cannon and musquetry which beat them down. They fled with such precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful massacre was made of them. Pizarro himself advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the sword all that surrounded his throne, took the monarch prisoner, and pursued all the rest of the day those who had escaped the sword of his soldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the ministers, the flower of the nobility, all that composed the court of Atabalipa, were massacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to see their emperor, were not spared. While this carnage continued, Vincent ceased not to animate the assassins, who were tired with slaughter, exhorting them to use not the edge but the point of their swords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous massacre, they passed the night in drunkenness, dancing, and all the excesses of debauchery.

The emperor, though closely guarded, soon discovered the extreme passion of his enemies for gold. This cir-

cumstance determined him to offer them for his ransom as much of this metal as his prison, which was two-and-twenty feet in length, and sixteen in breadth, could contain, and to as great a height as the arm of a man could reach. His proposal was accepted. But while those of his ministers, in whom he had most confidence, were employed in collecting what was necessary to enable him to fulfil his engagements, he was informed that Huascar had promised three times as much to some Spaniards who had found an opportunity of conversing with him, if they would consent to reinstate him upon the throne of his ancestors. He was alarmed at this incipient negotiation; and his apprehensions made him resolve to strangle a rival who appeared so dangerous.

In order to dissipate the suspicions which such an action must necessarily excite in his keepers, Atabalipa urged with fresh zeal the collecting of the metals stipulated for the recovery of his liberty. They were brought in from all sides as fast as the distance of the places, and the confusion that prevailed, would allow. The whole would have been completed in a little time; but these heaps of gold, incessantly exposed to the greedy eyes of the conquerors, so inflamed their cupidity, that it was impossible to delay any longer the distribution of them. The fifth part of the whole, which the government had reserved to itself, was delivered to the agents of the treasury. A hundred thousand piasters, or 540,000 livres [22,500*l.*] were set apart for the body of troops Almagro had just brought up, and which were still upon the coasts. Each of Pizarro's cavalry received 43,200 livers [18*col.*], and each of his infantry 21,600 [883*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] The general, and the officers, had sums proportioned to their rank in the army.

These fortunes, the most extraordinary that have ever been recorded in history, did not mitigate the barbarity of the Spaniards. Atabalipa had given his gold, and his name had served to keep the people in subjection: it was now time, therefore, to put an end to him. Vincent said that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. The interpreter, Philipillo, who had a

criminal intercourse with one of his women, might be disturbed in his pleasures. Almagro was apprehensive, that, while he was suffered to live, the army of his colleague might be desirous of appropriating all the booty to itself as part of the emperor's ransom. Pizarro had been despised by him, because, being less informed than the meanest of the soldiers, he knew not how to read. These circumstances, even more perhaps than political reasons, occasioned the emperor's death to be determined upon.

The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial; and this atrocious farce was followed with those horrid consequences that must necessarily have been expected from it.

After this judicial assassination, the murderers over-ran Peru with that thirst of blood and plunder which directed all their actions. Had they shewn some degree of moderation and humanity, they would probably have made themselves masters of this vast empire without drawing the sword. A people naturally mild, accustomed for a long time past to the most blind submission, ever faithful to the masters it had pleased heaven to give them, and astonished at the terrible spectacle they had just been beholding; such a nation would have submitted to the yoke without much reluctance. The plundering of their houses and of their temples, the outrages done to their wives and daughters; cruelties of all kinds succeeding each other without interruption; such a variety of calamities stirred up the people to revenge, and they found commanders to guide their resentment.

Numerous armies at first obtained some advantages over a small number of tyrants lost in these immense regions; but even these trifling successes were not durable. Several of the adventurers, who had enriched themselves by the ransom of Atabalipa, had quitted their standards, that they might go elsewhere to enjoy, in a more peaceable manner, a property so rapidly acquired. Their fortune inflamed the minds of men in the Old and in the New World, and they hastened from all quarters to this country of gold. The consequence of this was, that the Spaniards multiplied in a less time at Peru than in the other

colonies. They soon amounted to the number of five or six thousand; and then all resistance was at an end. Those of the Indians who were the most attached to their liberty, to their government, and to their religion, took refuge at a distance among inaccessible mountains. Most of them submitted to the conqueror.

A revolution so remarkable hath been a subject of astonishment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of access, where one must climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow passages and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be incessantly passing and repassing torrents or rivers, the banks of which are always steep. Four or five thousand men, with a moderate share of courage and skill, might destroy the best disciplined armies. How then could it possibly happen that a great nation did not even venture to dispute a territory, the nature of which was so well known to them, against a few plunderers, whom the ocean had just brought to these shores?

This event took place for the same reason that an intrepid robber, with the pistol in his hand, spoils with impunity a body of men, who are either quietly resting by their fire-sides, or who, shut up in a public carriage, are going along the road without mistrust. Though the robber be alone, and though he may have only one or two pistols to fire, yet he strikes the whole company with awe, because no one chooses to sacrifice himself for the rest. Defence implies a mutual agreement, which is the more slowly formed, as the danger is least expected, as the security is more complete, and as it has lasted a longer time. This was exactly the case with the Peruvians. They lived without uneasiness and without molestation for several centuries. Let us add to these considerations, that fear is the offspring of ignorance and astonishment; that a disorderly multitude cannot stand against a small number of disciplined forces; and that courage unarmed cannot resist cannon-shot. Accordingly, Peru must necessarily have been subdued, if even the domestic dissensions which then subverted it had not paved the way for its subjection.

State of Peru This empire, which, according to the
on the arrival of Spanish historians, had flourished for
the Spaniards. four centuries past, had been founded by
Manco Capac, and by his wife Mama
Ocello, who were called Incas, or Lords of Peru. It has
been conjectured that these two persons might be the
descendants of certain navigators of Europe, or the
Canaries, who had been shipwrecked on the coasts of
Brazil.

To support this conjecture, it has been said, that the
Peruvians divided the year, as we do, into three hundred
and sixty-five days, and that they had some notion of as-
tronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of
the horizon, where the sun sets in the summer and winter
solstice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards
destroyed, as being monuments of Indian superstition. It
has been asserted, that the race of the Incas was whiter
than that of the natives of the country, and that several
of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact,
that there are certain features, either ill-formed, or regu-
lar, that are preserved in some families, though they do
not constantly pass from one generation to another. And
lastly, it has been said, that it was a tradition generally
diffused throughout Peru, and transmitted from age to
age, that there would one day arrive by sea men with
beards, and of such superiority in arms, that nothing
could resist them.

If there should be any of our readers disposed to adopt
so improbable an opinion, they must necessarily allow, that
there must have elapsed a considerable space of time be-
tween the shipwreck and the foundation of the Peruvian
empire. If this be not admitted, we cannot explain why
the legislator should not have given the savages, whom
he collected together, some notions of writing; though he
should not himself have been able to read? Or why he
should not have taught them several of our arts and me-
thods of doing things, and instructed them in certain tenets
of his religion? Either it was not an European who found-
ed the throne of the Incas, or we must necessarily believe,
that the vessel of his ancestors was wrecked on the coast.

of America, at an era so remote, that the succeeding generations must have forgotten all the customs of the place from whence they sprang.

The legislators announced themselves to be children, sent by their father to make men good and happy. They certainly thought that this prejudice would inflame the minds of the people whom they meant to civilize, would elevate their courage, and inspire them with greater love for their country, and with more complete submission to the laws.

It was to a set of naked and wandering men, without agriculture, without industry, without any of those moral ideas that are the first ties of society, that their discourses were addressed. Some of these barbarians, who were instigated by others, assembled round the legislators in the mountainous country of Cusco.

Manco taught his new subjects to fertilize the earth, to sow corn and pulse, to wear clothes, and to provide dwelling-places for themselves. Ocello shewed the Indian women how to spin, to weave cotton and wool; and instructed them in all the occupations suitable to their sex, and in all the arts of domestic economy.

The star of fire, which dispels the darkness that covers the earth, which draws the curtain of the night, and suddenly displays to the eyes of astonished man the most extensive, the most august, and the most pleasing of all scenes; which is saluted at its rising by the cheerfulness of animals, by the melody of birds, and by the hymn of the being that is endowed with the faculty of thinking; which advances majestically above all their heads; which, in its progress through the regions of the sky, traverses an immensity of space; which, when it sets, plunges the universe again into silence and melancholy; which distinguishes the seasons and the climates; which collects and dissipates the storms; which lights up the thunder, and extinguishes it; which pours upon the fields the rains that fertilize them, and upon the forests those that nourish them; which animates every thing by its warmth, embellishes every thing by its presence, and the privation of which produces in all parts a state of languor and annihilation:

the sun, in a word, was the god of the Peruvians and, indeed, what being is there in nature more worthy of the homage of the ignorant man, who is dazzled with its splendour, or of the grateful man, on whom its benefits are lavished? The worship of the sun was accordingly instituted. Temples were built to this deity, and human sacrifices were abolished. The descendants of the legislators were the only priests of the nation.

The laws pronounced the pain of death against murder, theft, and adultery. Few other crimes were treated with the same severity. Polygamy was prohibited. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that because the face of the sun could not be too much multiplied. These concubines were selected from among the virgins consecrated to the temple of Cusco, who were all of his own race.

A most wise institution enjoined that a young man, who should commit a fault, should be slightly punished; but that his father should be responsible for him. Thus it was that sound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

There was no indulgence for idleness, which was considered, with reason, as the source of all crimes. Those who, from age and infirmities, were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge, but on condition that they should preserve the cultivated lands from the birds. All the citizens were obliged to make their own clothes, to raise their own dwellings, and to fabricate their own instruments of agriculture. Every separate family knew how to supply its own wants.

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumstance induced them to it. Those common labours, which were always enlivened by agreeable songs; the object itself of these labours, which was to assist every one who had occasion for succour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worship of the sun, and distributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which must necessarily reign in decuries, where every one was mutually inspired with respect for the laws, and with the love of

virtue, because the punishments that were inflicted for the faults of one individual fell on the whole body; that custom of regarding each other as members of one single family, which was the empire; all these circumstances united, maintained among the Peruvians concord, benevolence, patriotism, and a certain public spirit; and contributed, as much as possible, to substitute the most sublime and amiable virtues in lieu of personal interest, of the spirit of property, and of the usual incentives employed by other legislators.

These virtues were rewarded with marks of distinction as much as if they had been services rendered to the country. Those who had signalized themselves by an exemplary conduct, or by any distinguished actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, clothes wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that those statues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the sun, and which they took for idols, were the statues of men, who, by the greatness of their talents, or by a life replete with illustrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

These great men were also usually the subjects of poems composed by the family of the Incas for the instruction of the people.

There was another species of poetry conducive to morality. At Cusco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The first were lessons of duty to the priests, warriors, judges, and persons of distinction, and represented to them models of public virtue. Comedies served for instruction to persons of inferior rank, and taught them the exercise of private virtues, and even of domestic economy.

The whole state was distributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to superintend ten families that were intrusted to him. A superior officer had the same inspection over fifty families; others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand.

The decurions, and the other superintending officers, up to the superintendant of a thousand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good

or bad, to solicit punishments and rewards for each, and to give information if there were any want of provisions, clothes, or corn, for the year. The superintendant of a thousand made his report to the minister of the Inca.

He had seldom any cause of complaint against the part of the nation intrusted to his care. In a country where all the laws were thought to be prescribed by the sun, and where the least infringement of them was considered as a sacrifice, these transgressions must have been very uncommon. When such a misfortune happened, the guilty persons went of their own accord to reveal their most secret faults, and to solicit permission to expiate them. These people told the Spaniards that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas who deserved punishment.

The lands of the kingdom, that were susceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts; one appropriated to the sun, another to the Inca, and a third to the people. The first were cultivated in common, as were likewise the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the soldiers who were with the army. These were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated to the sun, and before those of the emperor. The season of labour was announced by festivals: it was begun and continued with the sound of musical instruments, and the chanting of hymns.

The emperor levied no tribute; and exacted nothing from his subjects, but that they should cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being deposited in public magazines, was sufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

The lands dedicated to the sun provided for the maintenance of the priests, the support of the temples, and of every thing that concerned public worship. They were partly cultivated by princes of the royal family, clad in their richest habits.

With regard to the lands that were in the possession of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even estates for life: the division of them was continually varying, and was regulated with strict equity according to the

number of persons which composed every family. There was no other wealth but what arose from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the state.

This custom of moveable possessions has been universally censured by men of understanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never rise to any degree of power or greatness, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the first of these, we should see on the globe only wandering and naked savages, miserably subsisting on such fruits and vegetables as are the sole and scanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the second, every individual would live only for himself; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, which paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpressible delight we feel in acting for the good of posterity, urge us to pursue. The system of some bold speculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that species of it which is hereditary, as an usurpation of some members of society over others, is refuted by the fate of all those institutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. These states have all fallen to ruin, after having languished for some time in a state of depopulation and anarchy.

If Peru hath not shared the same fate, it is probably because the Incas, not knowing the use of imposts, and having only commodities in kind to supply the necessities of government, must have been obliged to study how to multiply them. They were assisted in the execution of this project by their ministers, by inferior officers, and by the soldiers themselves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their subsistence and the support of their rank. Hence arose a continual solicitude to increase these productions. This attention might have for its principal object the introduction of plenty into the lands of the sovereign; but his patrimony was so mixed and confounded with that of his subjects, that it was not possible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people, encouraged by these advantages, which left little scope to their industry, applied themselves to labours,

which the nature of their soil, of their climate, and of their consumptions, rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages; notwithstanding the ever active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty that their harvests would never be ravaged by a turbulent neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere necessities of life. We may venture to assert, that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable, and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had not, properly speaking, any kind of commerce; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. All their science consisted in memory, all their industry in example. They learned their religion and their history by hymns, and their duties and professions by labour and imitation.

Their legislation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, since it supposed the prince always just and infallible, and the magistrates possessed of as much integrity as the prince; since not only the monarch, but his deputies, a superintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thousand, might change at pleasure the destination of punishments and rewards. Among such a people; deprived of the inestimable advantage of writing, the wisest laws, being destitute of every principle of stability, must insensibly be corrupted, without there being any method of restoring them to their primitive character.

The counterpoise of these dangers was found in their absolute ignorance of gold and silver coin; an ignorance which, in a Peruvian despot, rendered the fatal passion of amassing riches impossible. It was found in the constitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the sovereign's revenue by settling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely small number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which, being easily gratified, rendered them happy and attached

to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the observation of the laws a matter of conscience. Thus was the despotism of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the sovereign and the people; a confidence which resulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the constant protection he granted to all his subjects, and from the evident interest they had to continue in obedience to him.

A spirit of pyrrhonism, which hath succeeded to a blind credulity, and hath been sometimes carried to unjustifiable lengths, hath for some time endeavoured to raise objections to what has been just related of the laws, manners, and happiness of ancient Peru. This account hath appeared to some philosophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the destroyers of this distinguished part of the New World, was there a single ruffian sufficiently enlightened to invent a fable so consistent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wish to do it, had he even been equal to the task? Would he not rather have been restrained by the fear of increasing that hatred, which so many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witnesses, who would have seen the contrary of what was published with so much pomp? The unanimous testimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate successors, ought to be regarded as the strongest historical demonstration that can possibly be desired.

Let us therefore no longer consider, as the offspring of a wild imagination, this account of a succession of wise sovereigns; and of a series of generations among mankind existing without reproach. Let us rather deplore the fate of these people, and not envy them the sad remembrance of this honour. It is enough to have deprived them of the advantages which they enjoyed, without adding the baseness of calumny to the meanness of avarice, the outrages of ambition, and the rage of fanaticism. It is to be wished that this beautiful era may be renewed, sooner or later, in some quarter of the globe.

We shall not justify, with the same confidence, those accounts which the conquerors of Peru published concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The desire of adding greater lustre to the glory of their triumphs might possibly mislead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themselves, they studied to impose on their own country and on foreign nations. The first testimonies, and those even were contradictory, have been invalidated by succeeding accounts, and at length totally destroyed, when men of enlightened understandings had visited this celebrated part of the new hemisphere.

We must, therefore, consider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with so much labour and expence. If there were so many superb cities in Peru, why do none exist except Cusco and Quito, beside those the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we scarce find anywhere, except in the valleys of Capillas and of Pachacamac, the ruins of those of which such exaggerated descriptions have been published? The people must therefore have been dispersed over the country; and indeed it was impossible it should have been otherwise in a region where there were neither tenants, nor artists, nor merchants, nor great proprietors, and where tillage was the sole or the principal occupation of all men.

We must consider as fabulous the account of those majestic palaces, destined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their residence and on their travels. As far as it is possible to judge through those heaps of ruins which have been stirred up such an infinite number of times by the hand of avarice, in expectation of finding treasures among them, the royal mansions had neither majesty nor ornament. They differed only in extent and thickness from the ordinary buildings, which were constructed with reeds, with wood, with compacted earth, and with rough stones without any cement, according to the nature of the climate, or the vicinity of the materials.

We must consider as fabulous the relation of those

fortified places which defended the frontiers of the empire. There were undoubtedly some of these. The Lower Peru still presents us with the ruins of two of them, situated upon mountains, the one constructed with earth, the other with the trunks of trees. It is supposed that they were furnished with ditches, and with three walls, one commanding the other. This was sufficient to contain the conquered people, and to check the incursions of neighbours that were not very formidable. But these means of defence could be of no avail against the valour and the arms of the Europeans. Neither were the fortresses of the Upper Peru, though built of stone, better calculated for this purpose. M. de la Condamine, who visited, with that scrupulous attention that distinguished him, the fort of Cannar, which is the best preserved, and the most considerable after that of Cuzco, found it to be of very small extent, and only ten feet high. A people who had nothing but their arms to assist them in carrying or dragging the most bulky materials, and who were ignorant of the use of levers and pulleys, could not possibly execute any greater designs.

We must consider as fabulous the history of those aqueducts and reservoirs that are said to have been comparable to the most magnificent monuments of the same kind transmitted to us from the ancients. Necessity had taught the Peruvians to dig trenches round the mountains, and upon the slopes of hills, and canals and ditches in the valleys, in order to make their lands fruitful which were not fertilized by the rains, and to bring water for their own use, when they had never thought of constructing wells for this purpose; but these works of earth or dry stone had nothing remarkable in them; nothing that could imply the slightest knowledge of hydraulics.

We must also consider as fabulous the display of those superb roads which rendered communication so easy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of stakes disposed in a line, and intended for no other purpose but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any consequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traversed the whole

empire. This, which was the most beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely destroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

We must also consider as fabulous what has been said of those bridges which are so much boasted of. How could the Peruvians, who were ignorant of the method of constructing arches, and knew not the use of lime, raise stone bridges? It is certain, however, that the traveller was continually stopped in his passage by a great number of torrents he met with among these regions. To overcome this great obstacle, it was contrived to put together seven or eight cables, or even a greater number, made of osier, to fasten them with other smaller cords, to cover them with the branches of trees and with earth; and to fix them strongly to the opposite banks. Rivers that were larger and less rapid, were crossed in small sailing-boats, which tacked about with celerity.

We must also consider as fabulous, the wonders related of the *quipos*, which were, among the Peruvians, a substitute to the art of writing that was unknown to them. These were, as it hath been said, registers made of cords in which different kinds of knots and various colours, pointed out the facts, the remembrance of which it was either important or agreeable to preserve; these records were kept by depositaries of confidence appointed by public authority. It might perhaps be rash in us to affirm, that these kinds of hieroglyphics, of which we have never had any but obscure descriptions, could not possibly throw any light upon past events. But, when we observe the many errors that insinuate themselves into our histories, notwithstanding the great facility of avoiding them, we shall scarce be inclined to think, that annals of so singular a nature as those we have been mentioning, could ever merit much confidence.

The Spaniards do not deserve more credit, when they tell us of those baths that were made of silver and gold as well as the pipes that supplied them; of those gardens full of trees, the flowers of which were of silver, and the fruit of gold, and where the eye, being deceived,

mistook art for nature ; of those fields of maize, the stems of which were of silver, and the ears of gold ; of those basso-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were so admirably exhibited, that whoever saw was tempted to gather them ; of those dresses covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the seed of pearl, and the workmanship of which the ablest artists of Europe could not have equalled. We shall not say, that these works were not worthy to be preserved, because they never have been. If the Greek statuaries in their compositions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece could have reached us. But, if we may judge of what hath perished by what still remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progress in drawing. The vases, which have escaped the ravages of time, may serve as a signal proof of the patience of the Indians ; but they will never be considered as monuments of their genius. Some figures of animals, and of insects, in massive gold, which were long preserved in the treasury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them ; for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furnish succours for Cartagena, that was then besieged by the English ; and there was not found in all Peru a Spaniard curious enough to purchase a single piece at the bare weight.

From what hath been said, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made scarce any advances in the abstract sciences. Most of them depend on the progress of the arts, and these again on accidents which nature produces only in a course of several centuries, and of which the greatest part are lost among people who have no intercourse with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all these accounts to the simple truth, we shall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fusing gold and silver, and of working them. With these metals they made ornaments, most of which were very thin, for the arms, for the neck, for the nose, and for the ears ; and hollow statues, all of one piece, which, whether they were carved or cast in a mould, had no

greater degree of thickness. Vases are seldom made of these rich materials. Their ordinary vases were of very fine clay, easily wrought, and of the size and figure adapted to the purposes for which they were destined: Weights were not known among them, and scales are discovered from time to time, the basons of which are of silver, and which are in the shape of an inverted cone. Two kinds of stone were used as looking-glasses; the one was soft, the other hard; one was entirely opaque, the other had a small degree of transparency; one was black, the other of a lead colour: it had been contrived to give them a sufficient polish to reflect objects. Wool, cotton, and the barks of trees, were woven by these people into a cloth more or less compact, and more or less coarse, which was used for wearing-apparel, and of which household furniture was even made. These stuffs and cloths were dyed black, blue, and red, by means of the arnotto, by different plants, and by a kind of wild bean that grows in the mountains. Their emeralds were cut in all sorts of forms. Those that have been often taken out of the tombs, most of which are in elevated situations, where citizens of distinction were buried with whatever they possessed that was rare, prove that these precious stones were more perfect here than they have been found to be anywhere else. Sometimes, by fortunate chance, pieces of workmanship are discovered in red and yellow copper, and others which partake of both colours; from whence it hath been concluded, that the Peruvians were acquainted with the art of mixing metals. One more important matter is, that this copper never rusts, and never collects any verdigrise; which seems to prove, that the Indians mixed something in the preparing of it, which had the property of preserving it from these fatal inconveniences. It is to be regretted that the useful art of tempering it in this manner has been lost, either from want of encouraging the natives of the country, or from the contempt which the conquerors had for every thing that had no concern with their passion for riches.

But with what instruments were these works executed,

among a people who were unacquainted with iron, which is looked upon with reason as the foundation of all the arts? Nothing has been preserved in the private houses, nor hath any thing been discovered among the public monuments, or in the tombs, which can give information sufficient to solve this problem. Perhaps the hammers and mallets that were used were made of some substance that time may have either destroyed or disfigured. If we will not admit of this conjecture, we must conclude, that all the workmanship was executed with those hatchets of copper, which also served the people for arms in battle. In this case, labour, time, and patience, must have supplied among the Peruvians the deficiency of tools.

It was also, perhaps, with hatchets of copper or flint, and by incessant friction, that they contrived to cut stones, to square them, to make them answer to each other, to give them the same height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately these instruments had not the same effect on wood as they had upon stone. Thus it happened that the same men who shaped the granite, and who drilled the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortises, tenons, and pins; it was fastened to the walls only by railles. The most remarkable buildings had only a covering of thatch, supported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had but one floor, and no light except by the entrance, and they consisted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

The subjection of Peru is the epocha of the most bloody wars between its conquerors. But whatever were the arts which the Sphinards found in the country of Peru, these barbarians were no sooner masters of this vast empire, than they disputed the spoils of it with all the rage which their first exploits announced. The seeds of these divisions had

been sown by Pizarro himself, who, when he went into Europe to prepare for a second expedition into the South seas, had prevailed upon the ministry to give him a great superiority over Almagro. The sacrifice of what he had

obtained from a temporary favour, had contributed to reconcile him with his colleague, who had been justly incensed at this perfidy; but the division of Atabalipa's ransom irritated again these two haughty and rapacious robbers. A dispute, which arose concerning the limits of their respective governments, completed their animosity, and this extreme hatred was attended with the most deplorable consequences.

Civil wars usually originate in tyranny and anarchy. In a state of anarchy the people divide themselves into small parties. Each petty faction hath its demagogue; each hath its pretensions, be they wise or extravagant, unanimous or contradictory, without their being known. A number of confused clamours arise. The first stroke is followed by a thousand others; and the people destroy each other without listening to reason. Private interests and personal animosities prolong the duration of the public troubles; and men do not come to explanations till after they are tired with carnage. Under the influence of tyranny, there are scarce ever more than three parties, that of the court, that of the opposition, and that of indifferent persons: these are indeed lukewarm citizens, but sometimes of great service by their impartiality, and by the ridicule they cast upon the other two parties. In a state of anarchy, when tranquillity is restored, the life of every individual is safe; under that of tyranny, tranquillity is followed by the death of several individuals, or of one only.

Though the interests which divided the chiefs of the Spaniards were not of such importance, yet their effects were equally terrible. After some negotiations, dishonest at least on one part, and consequently useless, recourse was had to the sword, in order to determine which of the two competitors should govern the whole of Peru. On the 6th of April 1538, in the plains of Salinas, not far from Cusco, fate decided against Almagro, who was taken prisoner and beheaded.

Those of his partisans who had escaped the carnage, would willingly have reconciled themselves with the conquering party. But whether Pizarro did not choose

to trust the soldiers of his rival, or whether he could not overcome a resentment that was too deeply rooted; it is certain that he always shewed a remarkable aversion for them. They were not only excluded from all the favours that were profusely lavished upon the acquisition of a great empire; but they were also stripped of the rewards formerly granted for their services; they were persecuted, and exposed to continual mortifications.

This treatment brought a great number of them to Lima. There, in the house of the son of their general, they concerted in silence the destruction of their oppressor. Nineteen of the most intrepid went out, sword in hand, on the 26th of June 1541, in the middle of the day, which in hot countries is the time devoted to rest. They penetrated, without opposition, into the palace of Pizarro; and the conqueror of so many vast kingdoms was quietly massacred in the centre of a town that he had founded, and the inhabitants of which were composed of his creatures, his servants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers.

Those who were judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: the fury of the assassins spread itself, and every one who ventured to appear in the streets and in the squares was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. The spirit of avarice, which induced them to consider the rich merely as partisans of the old governments, was still more furious than that of hatred, and rendered it more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The representation of a place taken by assault by a barbarous nation, would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had frustrated them.

This cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had

been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The ancient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to undertakings which filled them with horror. Those among them who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private, or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire, to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated, to acknowledge him.

A multitude of russians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had lost his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the snares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himself at the head of the opposite party. He lost, in attempting to unravel his rival's plots, that time which he ought to have employed in fighting. In these circumstances, an event, which no one could have foreseen, happened to change the face of affairs.

The licentiate Vasco di Castro, who had been sent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to assume the government in case Pizarro was no more, all who had not sold themselves to the tyrant, hastened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealousy, which had for too long a time kept them dispersed, were no longer an obstacle to their re-union. Castro, who was as resolute as if he had grown old in the service, did not suffer their impatience to languish, but instantly led them against the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the

16th of September 1542, and fought with inexplicable obstinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the close of the day decided in favour of the government party. Those among the rebels who were most guilty, dreading to languish under disgraceful tortures, provoked the conquerors to murder them, crying out, like men in despair, *it was I who killed Pizarro*. Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

These scenes of horror were just concluded, when Blasco Nunez Vela arrived in 1544 at Peru, with the title and powers of viceroy. The court had thought to invest their representative with a solemn dignity, and with very extensive authority, in order that the decrees he was commissioned to establish, should meet with less opposition. These decrees were intended to lessen the oppression under which the Indians were sunk, and more particularly to render these immense conquests useful to the crown: let us examine whether they were judiciously contrived for this purpose.

They declared that some of the Peruvians should be free from that moment, and the rest at the death of their oppressors: that, for the future, they should not be compelled to bury themselves in the mines; and that no kind of labour should be exacted from them without payment: that their public labours and tributes should be regulated: that the Spaniards who travelled through the provinces on foot, should no longer have three of these wretched people to carry their baggage; nor five when they went on horseback: that the caciques should be freed from the obligation of providing the traveller and his suite with food.

By the same regulations, all the departments or commanderies of the governors, of the officers of justice, of the agents of the treasury of the bishops, of the monasteries, of the hospitals, and of all persons who had been concerned in the public troubles, were to be annexed to the domains of the state. The few lands that might belong to other proprietors, were to be subject to the same law, after the present possessors had ended their days, let their life be long or short; and their heirs, their wives, or their children, were to have no claim upon any part of them.

Before so great a revolution had been attempted, would it not have been more proper to have softened the ferocious manners of these people, to have gradually bent to the yoke men who had always lived in a state of independence, to have brought back to principles of equity injustice itself, to have connected to the general interest those who had been hitherto influenced by private interests only, to have made citizens of adventurers, who had, as it were, forgotten the country from whence they sprang; to have established properties where the law of the strongest had before universally prevailed; to have made order arise from the midst of confusion; and, by a striking contrast to the evils which had just been occasioned by anarchy, to have conciliated attachment and reverence to a well-regulated government? But without any of these preliminary steps, how could the court of Madrid expect suddenly to attain the end they proposed?

Even supposing the matter public, did they employ a proper agent to effect it? At any rate, it would have been a work of patience, and of a conciliatory disposition, which would have required all the talents of the most consummate negotiator. Did Nunnez possess any of these advantages? Nature had only given him integrity, courage, and firmness; and he had added nothing to her gifts. With these virtues, which were almost defects in his situation, he began to fulfil his commission, without any regard to place, to persons, or to circumstances. To the astonishment with which the people were at first seized, succeeded indignation, murmurs, and sedition.

Civil wars assume the character that distinguishes the causes from whence they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny, and the natural love of liberty, stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if they prove victorious, the tranquillity that follows this transitory calamity is an era of the greatest happiness. The vigour which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. The small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles,

possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Abilities and power are united; and every man is astonished to find that he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him.

But when dissensions proceed from a corrupt source; when slaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend, in order to oppress, and robbers quarrel for the sake of spoil; the peace which terminates these horrors is scarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals assume the place of the judges who had disgraced them, and become the oracles of those laws which they had insulted. Men ruined by their extravagances and debaucheries, insult, with an overbearing pomp, those virtuous citizens whose patrimony they have invaded. In this state of utter confusion, the passions only are attended to. Avarice seeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its resentments without fear, licentiousness to throw off every restraint, and discontent to occasion a total subversion of affairs. The frenzy of carnage is succeeded by that of debauchery. The sacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery, and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in destroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus, in a few hours, perish the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire lassitude, or some fortunate accidents, suspend these calamities, the habit of wickedness and murder, and the contempt of laws, which necessarily subsists after so much confusion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious soldiers without pay, and the people, fond of novelty, in hopes of changing their state for a better; this situation of things, and these means of confusion, are always in readiness for the first factious person who knows how to avail himself of them.

Such was the disposition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunnez attempted to carry into execution the orders he had received from the old hemisphere. He was immediately degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, where he was to remain till he was conveyed to the mother-country.

Gonzales Pizarro was then returned, from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunnez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians were forced to take part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. They dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, and carried the baggage. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito, in the month of January in the year 1545. Nunnez, and the greatest part of his men, were massacred on that day.

Pizarro took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they should receive him. Some officers wished that a canopy should be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation still more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even some houses, must be pulled down; as was the custom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himself with making his entrance on horseback, preceded by his lieutenants, who marched on foot. Four bishops accompanied him; and he was followed by the magistrates. The streets were strewn with flowers, and the air resounded with the noise of bells and various musical instruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He spoke and acted in the most despotical manner.

Had Gonzales possessed judgment, and the appearance of moderation, it would have been possible for him to render himself independent. The principal persons of his party wished it. The majority would have viewed this event with indifference, and the rest would have been obliged to consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even the persons whose interests were more connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

*An aged priest
at length puts
an end to the
effusion of Spa-
nish blood.*

Such a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of Pedro de la Gasca. He was a priest, advanced in years, but prudent, disinterested, firm, and especially endowed with an acute discernment. He brought no troops along with him; but he had been intrusted with unlimited powers. The first use he allowed himself to make of them, was, to publish a general amnesty, without distinction of persons or crimes, and to revoke the severe laws that had rendered the preceding administration odious. This step alone secured to him the fleet, and the mountainous provinces. If Pizarro, to whom the amnesty had been particularly offered, with every testimony of distinction, had accepted of it, as he was advised to do by the most enlightened of his partisans, the troubles would have been at an end. The habit of commanding would not suffer him to descend to a private station; and he had recourse to arms, in hopes of perpetuating his memory. Without losing a moment, he advanced towards Cusco, where La Gasca was assembling his forces. On the 9th of April 1548, the battle was begun at the distance of four leagues from this place, in the plains of Sacahuana. One of the rebel general's lieutenants, seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him, but in vain, to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman; but this weak head of a party chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Nine or ten of his officers were hanged round him. A more disgraceful sentence was pronounced against Carvajal.

This confident of Pizarro, who, in all the accounts, is accused of having massacred with his own hand four hundred men, of having sacrificed, by means of his agents, more than a thousand Spaniards, and of having destroyed more than twenty thousand Indians through excess of labour, was one of the most astonishing men ever recorded in history. At a time when the minds of all men were elevated, he displayed a degree of courage which could never admit of comparison. He remained always faithful to the cause he engaged in, although the custom of changing standards according to circumstances was then universally prevalent. He never forgot the most trifling service that had been rendered him; while those who had once conferred an obligation upon him, might afterwards affront him with impunity. His cruelty was become a proverb; and in the most horrid executions he ordered, he never lost any thing of his mirth. Strongly addicted to raillery, he was appeased with a jest; while he insulted the cry of pain, which appeared to him the exclamation of cowardice or weakness. His iron heart made a sport of every thing. He took away or preserved life for a nothing, because life was a nothing in his estimation. His passion for wine did not prevent the uncommon strength of his body, and the dreadful vigour of his soul, from maintaining themselves to the most advanced time of life. In extreme old age, he was still the first soldier, and the first commander in the army. His death was conformable to his life. At the age of eighty-four, he was quartered, without shewing any remorse for what was past, or any uneasiness for the future.

Such was the last scene of a tragedy, every act of which hath been marked with blood. Civil wars have always been cruel in all countries and in all ages; but at Peru they were destined to have a peculiar character of ferocity. Those who excited them, and those who engaged in them, were most of them adventurers without education, and of mean birth. Avarice, which had brought them into the New World, was joined to other passions which render domestic dissensions so lasting and so violent. All of them, without exception, considered the

chief whom they had chosen merely as a partner in their fortune, whose influence was only to extend to the guidance of their hostilities. None of them accepted any pay. As plunder and confiscation were to be the fruits of victory, no quarter was ever given in action. After the engagement was over, every rich man was exposed to informations; and there were nearly as many citizens who perished by the hands of the executioner, as by those of the soldiers in battle. The gold that had been acquired by such enormities, was soon exhausted by the meanest kind of intemperance, and the most extravagant luxury; and the people returned again to all the excesses of military licence that knows no restraint.

Fortunately for this opulent part of the new hemisphere, the most seditious of the conquerors, and of those who followed their steps, had perished miserably in the several events that had so frequently subverted it. Few of them had survived the troubles, except those who had constantly preferred peaceable occupations to the tumult and dangers of great revolutions. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised in their minds, insensibly sank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempest. Then, and then only, the catholic kings might with truth style themselves the sovereigns of the Spaniards fixed in Peru. But there was one Inca still remaining.

This legitimate heir of so many vast dominions, lived in the midst of the mountains in a state of independence. Some princesses of his family, who had submitted to the conquerors, abused his inexperience and youth, and prevailed upon him to come to Lima. The usurpers of his rights carried their insolence so far as to send him letters of grace, and assigned to him only a very moderate domain for his subsistence. He went to hide his shame and his regret in the valley of Yucay, where, at the expiration of three years, death, though still too tardy, put an end to his unfortunate career. An only daughter, who survived him, married Loyola; and from this union are sprung the houses of Oropeza and Alcanizas. Thus was the conquest of Peru completed towards the year 1560.

When the Castilians had first made their appearance in this empire, it had an extent of more than fifteen thousand miles of coast upon the South sea ; and in its depth, it was bounded only by the highest of the Cordeleirias mountains. In less than half a century, these turbulent men pushed on their conquest eastward from Panama to the river Plata, and westward from the Chagre to the Oroonoko. Although the new acquisitions were most of them separated from Peru by terrible deserts, or by people who obstinately defended their liberty, yet they were all incorporated with it, and submitted to the same law, even down to these latter times. Let us take a review of those which have preserved or acquired some degree of importance ; and we shall begin with the Darien.

This narrow slip of land, which joins South and North America together, is fortified by a chain of high mountains, sufficiently solid to resist the attacks of the two opposite seas. The country is so barren, so rainy, so unwholesome, and so full of insects, that the Spaniards, in all probability, would never have thought of fixing there, had they not found at Porto-Bello, and at Panama, harbours well calculated for establishing an easy communication between the Atlantic and the Southern ocean. The rest of the isthmus had so little attraction for them, that the settlements of Saint Mary and of Nombre de Dios, which had at first been formed there, were soon annihilated.

This neglect determined, in 1698, twelve hundred Scotch to go there. The company, united for this enterprise, intended to gain the confidence of the few savages whom the sword had not destroyed ; to arm them against a people whose ferocity they had experienced ; to work the mines, which were thought more valuable than they are ; to intercept the galleons by cruises skilfully conducted ; and to unite their force

Notions concerning the province of Darien. Inquiry whether that country be of importance enough to excite divisions among the nations.

with those of Jamaica, with sufficient management to acquire the sway in this part of the New World.

A project so alarming displeased the court of Madrid, which seemed determined to confiscate the effects of all the English, who traded with so much advantage in their dominions. It displeased Louis XIV, who offered to a power, already too much exhausted, a fleet sufficient to frustrate the design: it displeased the Dutch, who were afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the smuggling trade which they monopolized in these latitudes: it was even displeasing to the British ministry, who foresaw that Scotland, growing rich, would wish to emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and universal opposition determined King William to revoke a permission which his favourites had extorted from him. It then became necessary to evacuate the golden island upon which this colony had been placed.

But the mere apprehension the Spaniards had felt of having such a neighbour, determined them to pay more attention themselves to a country which they had always hitherto neglected. Their missionaries succeeded in forming nine or ten villages, each of which contained from one hundred and fifty to two hundred savages. Whether from the unsettled disposition of the Indians, or from the oppression of their guides, these rising settlements began to fall off in 1716; and in our days, there are no more than three of them remaining, defended by four small forts and by a hundred soldiers.

*Extent, climate,
soil, forti-
fications, bar-
bour, popula-
tion, manners,
and trade of
Carthagena.*

The province of Carthagena is bordered on the west by the river Darien, and on the east by that of Magdalena. The extent of its coast is fifty-three leagues, and of the inland countries eighty-five. The arid and extremely high mountains that occupy the greatest part of this vast space, are separated by large valleys, well watered and fertile. The dampness and excessive heat of the climate prevent, in-

deed, the corn, the oils, the wines, and the fruits of Europe from thriving there: but rice, cassava, maize, cacao, sugar, and all the productions peculiar to America, are very common. But cotton is the only article cultivated for exportation; and even the wool of this is so long, and so difficult in working, that it is only sold for the lowest price in our markets, and is rejected by most of the manufactures.

Bastidas was the first European, who, in 1502, appeared in these unknown latitudes. La Cosa, Guerra, Ojeda, Vesputius, and Oviedo, landed there after him: but the people whom these plunderers meant to enslave, opposed them with such firmness, that they were obliged to give up all thoughts of forming a settlement there. At length Pedro de Heredia appeared in 1527, with a force sufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled Carthagena.

In 1544, some French pirates pillaged the new town. Forty-one years after, it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis, one of the admirals of Louis XIV, took it in 1697; but, by his cruel rapacity, he disgraced the arms which his ambitious master wished to render illustrious. The English were disgracefully obliged, in 1741, to raise the siege of it, though they had undertaken it with twenty-five ships of the line, six fire-ships, two bomb-ketches, and as many land forces as were sufficient to conquer a great part of America. The misunderstanding between Vernon and Wentworth; the cabals which divided the army and the fleet; a want of experience in most of the commanders, and of subordination in the subalterns: all these causes united to deprive the nation of the glory and advantage it had flattered itself with, from one of the most brilliant armaments that had ever been dispatched from the British ports.

After so many revolutions, Carthagena now subsists in splendour in a peninsula of sand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadest of which is not thirty-five toises. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed, at a little distance, a hill of a tolerable height, on which the citadel of St.

Lazarus hath been built. These works are defended by a garrison, more or less numerous; as circumstances require. The town is one of the best built, the most regular, and best disposed, of any in the New World. It may contain twenty-five thousand souls. Of this number the Spaniards form the sixth part; the Indians, the Negroes, and several races composed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

These mixtures are more common at Carthagena than in most of the other Spanish colonies. A multitude of vagabonds without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually resorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repose any confidence in their services; they are destined to subsist wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a square, or under the portico of some church. If the afflictions they experience in this miserable state should bring some violent disease upon them, they are commonly assisted by the free negro women, whose care and kindness they requite by marrying them. Those who have not the happiness of being in a situation dreadful enough to excite the compassion of the women, are obliged to take refuge in the country, and to devote themselves to fatiguing labours, which a certain national pride, and ancient customs, render equally insupportable. Indolence is carried so far in this country, that men and women who are wealthy seldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

The climate must be one of the principal causes of this inactivity. The heat is excessive, and almost continual, at Carthagena. The torrents of water which are incessantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which, however, is sometimes a little tempered by the north-east winds in the dry season. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perspiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of sickly persons. Even when they are in perfect health, their motions partake of the softness of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifests itself even in their words, which

are always uttered slowly, and with a low voice. Those who come hither from Europe preserve their fresh complexions and plumpness three or four months; but they afterwards lose both.

This decay is the forerunner of an evil still more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that some persons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigestion. It manifests itself by vomitings, accompanied with so violent a delirium, that the patient must be confined, to prevent him from tearing himself to pieces. He often expires in the midst of these agitations, which seldom last above three or four days. A lemonade made of the juice of the opuntium, or Indian fig, is, according to Godin, the best specific that has been found against so fatal a disease. Those who have escaped this danger at first run no risk for the future. We are assured from the testimony of men of understanding, that, even upon their return to Carthage, after a long absence, they have nothing to fear.

The town and its territory exhibit the spectacle of a hideous leprosy, which indiscriminately attacks both the inhabitants and strangers. The philosophers who have attempted to ascribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not considered that nothing of a similar kind is seen in the other parts of the New World, where this kind of food is not less common. To prevent the progress of this distemper, an hospital has been founded in the country. Persons who are supposed to be attacked with it, are shut up here, without distinction of sex, rank, or age. The benefit of so wise an establishment is lost through the avarice of the governors, who, without being deterred by the danger of spreading the disease, suffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the sick is so great, that the inclosure of the dwelling is of an immense extent. Every one there enjoys a little spot of ground that is marked out for him on his admission. There he builds an abode suitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This disorder so powerfully excites that passion which is the strongest

of all others, that it has been judged necessary to permit marriage to such as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increasing the passion, by increasing the means of satisfying it. These desires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them; they increase by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The inconvenience of beholding this ardent disease, which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other disorders, that are, perhaps, chimerical.

Let us be allowed to form a conjecture. There are some people in Africa that are situated nearly under the same latitude, who have a custom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expressed from the fruit of a tree resembling the palm. This oil is of a disagreeable smell: but beside the property it has of keeping off insects, which are very troublesome under this burning sky, it serves to make the skin pliable, and to preserve, or restore to that organ so essential to life, the free exercise of the office for which nature has designed it; it also quiets the irritation which dryness and aridity must bring on upon the skin, which then becomes so hard, that all kind of perspiration is intercepted. If a similar method were tried at Carthage, and if the cleanliness which the climate requires were added to it, perhaps this leprosy might be restrained, or even totally abolished.

Notwithstanding this disgusting distemper, the various defects of an inconvenient and dangerous climate, and many other disagreeable circumstances, Spain hath always shewn a great predilection for Carthage, on account of its harbour, one of the best that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and hath a deep and excellent bottom. There is not more agitation there than on the most calm river. There are two channels that lead up to it. That which is called Bocca Grande, and which is from seven to eight hundred toises in breadth, had formerly so little depth, that the smallest canoe could with difficulty pass through it. The ocean hath gradually increased its depth so much, that in some parts twelve feet of water may be found. If the revolutions of time

should bring about greater alterations, the place would be exposed. Accordingly, the attention of the court of Madrid is seriously engaged in considering the means of preventing so great an evil. Perhaps, after much reflection, no simpler or more certain expedient will be found, than to oppose to the enemy's fleets a dike formed of old ships filled with stones and sunk in the sea. The channel of Bocca Chica hath been hitherto the only one practicable. This is so narrow, that only one vessel can enter at once. The English, in 1741, having destroyed the fortifications that defended this passage, they have been since restored with greater skill. They were no longer placed at the entrance of the gullet, but further up the channel, where they will secure a better defence.

At the time that these countries were supplied with provisions, by the well known method of the galleons, the vessels which set out from Spain all together, sailed to Cartagena before they went to Porto Bello, and visited it again on their return to Europe. In the first voyage, they deposited the merchandize that was necessary for the supply of the interior provinces, and received the price of them in the second. When single ships were substituted to these monstrous armaments, the city served for the same kind of staple. It was always the point of communication between the old hemisphere and great part of the new. From the year 1748 to 1753, this staple was only visited with twenty-seven ships from Spain; these, in exchange for the merchandize they had brought, received every year 9,357,806 livres [389,908*l.* 1*rs.* 8*d.*] in gold, 4,729,498 livres [197,072*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.*] in silver, and 851,765 livres [35,499*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.*] in the produce of the country; in all, 14,939,069 livres [629,461*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*].

The article of the produce of the country was composed of four thousand eight hundred and fourscore quintals of cacao, the value of which in Europe was 509,760 livres [21,240*l.* 10*s.*]; of five hundred and eighty quintals of bark, of the value of 200,880 livres [8370*l.*]; of seventeen quintals of vicana wool, of the value of 12,474

livres [519*l.* 1*5s.*]; of one quintal and a half of vanilla, of the value of 11,988 livres [499*l.* 10*s.*]; of seven quintals of tortoise-shell, of the value of 4698 livres [195*l.* 15*s.*]; of fifteen quintals of mother-of-pearl, of the value of 1701 livres [71*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.*]; of sixteen quintals of balsam, of the value of 18,900 livres [787*l.* 10*s.*]; of two thousand and thirty quintals of a species of Brasil wood, of the value of 29,295 livres [1220*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*]; of two thousand one hundred skins, with the hair on, of the value of 34,020 livres [1417*l.* 10*s.*]; of forty-two quintals of dragon's blood, of the value of 2389 livres [99*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*]; of six quintals of balsam of capivi, of the value of 2700 livres [113*l.*]; of seven quintals of sarsaparillo, of the value of 972 livres [40*l.* 9*s.*]; of one quintal of ivory, of the value of 388 livres [16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*]; and lastly, of one hundred and eighty-eight quintals of cotton, of the value of 21,600 livres [900*l.* 10*s.*]

In these returns, where there was nothing for government, and where all was for trade, the territory of Carthagena furnished only to the amount of 93,241 livres [3885*l.* 10*d.*] That of Saint Martha was still less profitable.

*Causes of the ob-
literation into
which the pro-
vince of Saint
Martha is fal-
len.*

This province, the extent of which, from east to west, is eighty leagues, and one hundred and thirty from north to south, was unfortunately discovered, as were all the neighbouring regions, at the disastrous period when the kings of Spain, solely intent upon their aggrandizement in Europe, required only from those of their subjects, who went into the New World, the fifth part of gold which they collected in their plunders. Upon this condition, these robbers, who were stimulated by the love of novelty, by an inordinate passion for wealth, and even by the hopes of meriting heaven, were left to be the sole arbiters of their actions. Without dread of punishment or of censure, they might wander about from one country to another, preserve or aban-

don a conquest, improve a territory, or destroy it, and massacre the people, or treat them with humanity, as they thought proper. Every thing suited the court of Madrid; provided they were supplied with plenty of riches, the source from which they came always appeared honest and pure.

Ravages and cruelties, that cannot be expressed, were the necessary consequence of these abominable principles; and universal dissolution prevailed. The fatal vestiges of it are still to be traced in all parts, but more especially at St. Martha. After these destroyers had spoiled the colonies of the gold, which they had picked up in their rivers, and of the pearls which they had fished upon their coasts, they disappeared. The few among them who settled themselves there, raised one or two towns, and some villages, which remained without intercourse with each other, till it was opened by some indefatigable capuchin missionaries, who, in our days, have contrived to collect, in eight hamlets, three thousand one hundred and ninety-one Metilones, or Evagiras, the most ferocious of the savages who opposed it. Here their despicable posterity vegetates, fed and waited upon by some Indians or Negroes. The mother-country hath never sent one single vessel into this district, and hath never received any kind of production from it. The industry and activity of this place consists only in a fraudulent trade of cattle, and especially mules, carried on with the Dutch, or with the other cultivators of the neighbouring islands, who gave in change clothing, and some other objects of little value. Superstition keeps up this fatal indolence. It prevents the people from discerning that it is not by ceremonies, by flagellations, or by *autos da fe*, that the Divinity is to be honoured; but by the sweat of man's brow, by the clearing of land and by useful labours. These proud men persuade themselves that they are greater in a church, or at the feet of a monk, than in the fields or the workshop. The tyranny of their priests hath kept away from them that knowledge which might have undeceived them. Even this work, written purposely to enlighten them, they will never be acquainted

ed with. If some fortunate event should put it into their hands, they would have an abhorrence of it, and would consider it as a criminal production, the author of which would deserve to be burnt.

*First events
that happened
at Venezuela.*

ALPHONSO OJEDA was the first who reconnoitred, in 1499, the country called Venezuela, or Little Venice, a name that was given to it, because some huts were seen there, fixed upon stakes, to raise them above the stagnant waters that covered the plain. Neither this adventurer, nor his immediate successors, thought of forming any settlements there. Their ambition was only to make slaves, that they might convey them to the islands which their ferocity had depopulated. It was not till 1527 that John d'Ampuez fixed a colony upon this coast, and promised to his court a region abounding in metals. This promise gave rise, in the following year, to an arrangement singular enough to attract our attention.

Charles V. who had united such a number of crowns upon his head, and concentrated so much power in himself, was engaged, by his ambition, or by the jealousy of his neighbours, in endless disputes, the expences of which exceeded his resources. In his necessities, he had borrowed considerable sums of the Welfers of Augsbουργ, who were then the richest merchants in Europe. That prince offered them in payment the province of Venezuela, and they accepted it as a fief of Castile.

It was to be supposed that merchants, who had acquired their fortune by the buying and selling of territorial productions, would establish plantations in their domains. It was to be supposed that Germans, who had been brought up in the midst of mines, would work those which were upon the spot that was granted to them. But these expectations were entirely frustrated. The Welfers only sent into the New World four or five hundred of those fierce soldiers, whom their country began to sell to whoever would and could pay for their blood. These base hirelings carried along with them beyond the

feats that propensity for pillaging which they had contracted in the different wars in which they had served. Under the guidance of their chiefs, Alfinger and Sailer, they overran an immense tract of country, putting the savages to the torture, and ripping them open, to extort from them where the gold was to be found. Some Indians, dragged along, and laden with provisions, who were put to death as soon as they sank under the lassitude, followed this savage band. Hunger, fatigue, and poisoned arrows, fortunately delivered the earth of this odious burden. The Spaniards resumed possession of a soil which the Welfers would no longer have any concern with; and their conduct was not very different from that which had just excited so much horror. Their commander Carvajal, indeed, forfeited his life for these enormities: but this punishment did not recal from the grave the victims that had been precipitated into it. From their ashes arose, in process of time, a few productions, of which the cacao was the principal.

THE cacao tree, which is of a middling size, generally throws out five or six trunks from its root. The wood of it is brittle and white; its root reddish, and rather rugged. As it grows up it throws off some inclined branches, which do not spread far. Its leaves are alternate, oval, and terminated in a point. The largest of them are from eight to nine feet in length, and three in breadth. They are all fixed upon short petioles, flattened, and furnished at their basis with two membranes or stipulæ. The flowers arise in small bunches along the stems and the branches. Their calix is greenish, and hath five deep divisions. The five petals that compose the corolla are small, yellow, inflated at their base, lengthened out into a kind of strap, which is folded up in a circular form, and widened at its extremity. These petals are fixed to a spatha, formed by the assemblage of ten threads, five of which bear stamina. The five other intermediate ones are longer, and in the shape of a tongue. The

The cacao hath always fixed the attention of the Spaniards upon Venezuela.

pistil, which is placed in the centre, and surmounted with one style only, becomes an oviform capsula, almost of a ligneous texture, six or seven inches in length, and two in breadth; uneven upon its surface, marked with ten costae, and separated internally by membranous partitions into five cells. The kernels which it contains, to the number of thirty, or more, are covered with a brittle shell, and surrounded with a whitish pulp.

These kernels are the basis of the chocolate, the goodness of which depends upon the oily part they contain, and consequently upon their perfect maturity. The capsula is gathered, when, after having changed successively from green to yellow, it acquires a dark musk colour. It is slit with a knife, and all the kernels, surrounded with their pulp, are taken out and heaped up in a tub, in order that they may ferment. This operation destroys the principle of vegetation, and removes the superfluous moisture from the kernels, which are afterwards exposed to the sun upon hurdles, in order to complete the drying of them. The cacao, thus prepared, keeps for a considerable time, provided it be in a dry place; but it is not proper to keep it too long; because it loses, with age, part of its oil and of its properties.

The cacao tree grows readily, from seeds that are sown in holes ranged in a straight line, and at the distance of five or six feet from each other. These seeds, which must be fresh, soon vegetate. The tree grows up tolerably fast, and begins to reward the labours of the cultivator at the end of two years. Two crops are gathered every year, which are equal in quality and quantity. This tree requires a rich and moist soil, which hath not been employed for any other kind of culture. If it should want water, it would produce no fruit, wither, and die. A shade, to shelter it continually from the heat of the sun, is not less necessary to it. The fields in which the cacao trees are planted, are also liable to be destroyed by the hurricanes, unless care be taken to skirt them with stronger trees. The culture which the tree further requires is neither laborious nor expensive.

It is sufficient to pull up the weeds that grow round it, and which would deprive it of its nourishment.

The cacao tree is cultivated in several parts of the New World; in some of them it even grows naturally. Nevertheless, its fruit is nowhere so plentiful as at Venezuela; and nowhere of so good a quality, if we except Soconusco.

But for the space of two centuries, the labours of the colony did not turn out to the profit of the mother-country. The national trade was so much overburdened with taxes, and so much embarrassed with formalities, that the province found a considerable advantage in receiving from the hands of the Dutch of Curacoa all the merchandize they wanted, and in giving them for payment the produce of their soil, which these indefatigable neighbours sold for an immense profit to part of Europe, and even to the nation that was proprietor of the territory in which it was collected. This smuggling intercourse was so brisk and so constant, that from the year 1700 to the end of 1727, only five ships were sent out from the ports of Spain to Venezuela; and they, all of them without exception, made a voyage more or less tedious.

Such was the situation of affairs, when some merchants of the province of Guipuzcoa imagined, in 1728, that it would be advantageous to them to unite in a body in order to undertake this navigation. Their views were approved and encouraged by government. The province of Venezuela is subjected to a monopoly. Prosperity of the company. The principal conditions of the grant were, that the company should pay for every thing they might choose to send out, and for every thing they might receive, the taxes that were already settled, and that they should entertain, at their own expence, a sufficient number of guarda costas, to prevent the inhabitants from smuggling.

Some alterations were successively made in the administration of this society. At first they were only per-

mitted to fit out two ships every year; but in 1734 they obtained leave to send as many as they thought proper.

In the beginning, the company had not the privilege of an exclusive charter. The government granted it to them in 1742, for the department of Caraccas; and ten years after for that of Maracaibo, two territories, the union of which forms the province of Venezuela, extending four hundred miles along the coast.

Till the year 1744, the ships, on their return from the New World, were all to deposit their whole cargo in the port of Cadiz. After this period, they were only obliged to carry there the cacao necessary for the supply of Andalusia and of the neighbouring districts. They were allowed to disembark the rest at Saint Sebastian, the place of the rise of the company.

It was in this town that the general meeting of the proprietors was originally holden. In 1751, it was transferred to the capital of the empire, where some one of the most esteemed members of the council of the Indies presides over it every two years.

The merchandize was at first delivered to the highest bidder. The court was then informed that a general discontent prevailed; that a small number of rich associates should monopolize the cacao, which is considered in Spain as an article of primary necessity, and should afterwards sell it at what price they chose. These murmurs occasioned, in 1752, a regulation, that without suppressing the magazines at Saint Sebastian, at Cadiz, and at Madrid, new ones should be established at Coruna, at Alicante, and at Barcelona; and that in all of them the cacao should be retailed to the inhabitants at the price settled by the ministry.

The company obtained, in 1753, that their shares should be considered as a real estate, that they might be perpetually entailed, and formed into those unalienable and indivisible *majorascos*, or inheritances settled upon the eldest heir, which are in general so flattering to the pride of the Spaniards.

It was decreed, in 1761, that the company should advance, to the members who might wish for it, the

value of sixteen shares ; that these shares should be put in trust, and that they might be sold, if after a stipulated period the proprietor did not withdraw them. The intent of this prudent arrangement, was to succour such of the proprietors whose affairs might be somewhat embarrassed, and to maintain the credit of the company by honest means.

According to regulations made in 1776, the operations of the company are to extend to Cumana, to the Oroonoko, to the islands of the Trinity and St. Margaret. These countries, indeed, have not been subjected to its monopoly : but the favours it has received are equivalent to an exclusive privilege.

During these changes, the number of freemen and of slaves were increasing at Venezuela. The seven hundred and fifty-nine plantations, distributed in sixty-one villages, were emerging from their languid, state and others were forming. The former cultures were improved, and new ones established. The cattle penetrated more and more into the inland parts of the country. But it was chiefly in the district of Caraccas that the improvements were most conspicuous. The town which bears this name, contained four and twenty thousand inhabitants, most of them in easy circumstances. The Guayra which served for the purpose of its navigation, though it afforded nothing more than an indifferent anchorage, surrounded with a small number of huts, was gradually becoming a considerable colony, and even a tolerable harbour, by means of a large pier constructed with skill.

At Puerto Cabello, which had been entirely abandoned, through one of the best ports of America, three hundred houses were raised. Let us endeavour to investigate the causes of this singular prosperity, under the shackles of a monopoly.

The company understood from the first, that their success was inseparable from that of the colony ; and they therefore advanced to the inhabitants as far as 3,240,000 livres [135,000*l.*] without interest. This debt was to be discharged in commodities ; and those

who did not fulfil their engagements were summoned to the tribunal of the king's representative, whose province it was solely to judge, whether the causes of delay were, or were not, reasonable.

The magazines of the company were constantly supplied with every thing that might be of use to the country, and always open to receive every thing the country could pour into them. By this method, the labours were never languid for want of means, or of a market.

The value of what the company were to sell, or to buy, was not left to the capacity of their agents. The government of the province always fixed the prize of what came from Europe; and a meeting, composed of the directors, colonists, and factors, always regulated the price of the productions of the soil.

Such of the inhabitants of the New World as were not satisfied with these regulations, were allowed to send into the Old one, upon their own account, the sixth part of their crops, and to receive the value in merchandize; but these affairs were always to be transacted by the ships of the company.

By these arrangements the cultivator was better rewarded for his labours, than he had been at the time of the contraband trade. The new disposition of things was in reality fatal only to a few scheming, turbulent, and adventurous men, who collected in their hands, at a low price, the productions of the country, in order to deliver them afterwards to foreign navigators of the same character as themselves.

The new kingdom of Grenada, Mexico, some of the American islands, and the Canaries, were in the habit of drawing from Venezuela part of the cacao consumed by their inhabitants. These colonies continued to enjoy this right without restraint. They even pursued it with greater advantage, because the production which they wanted to procure, became more plentiful, and was obtained at a cheaper rate.

Formerly Venezuela furnished nothing to the trade of the mother-country. The company, since their establishment, have always supplied it with productions, the quantity of which hath successively increased. From

the year 1748 to 1753, the company conveyed annually into the colony to the value of 3,197,327 livres [132,22*l.* 1*9s.* 2*d.*] in merchandize. They drew from thence annually to the amount of 239,144 livres [9964*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] in silver; thirty-seven thousand quintals of cacao, which they sold for 5,332,000 livres [222,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*]; two thousand five hundred quintals of tobacco, sold for 178,200 livres [7425*l.*]; one hundred and fifty-seven quintals of indigo sold for 198,990 livres [8291*l.* 5*s.*]; twenty thousand skins, with the hair on, sold for 356,400 livres [14,850*l.*]; and some *dividi*, sold for 27,000 livres [1125*l.*]; so that their returns amounted to 6,811,734 livres [284,646*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*] The apparent profit was therefore, 3,634,407 livres [151,433*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*] We call it apparent, because the expences and the customs absorbed 1,932,500 livres [80,590*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*] of this sum; so that the real profit of the company was only 1,701,897 livres [70,922*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*]

All these branches of commerce have been increased, except that of the *dividi*, which it hath been necessary to give up, since it hath been found that it was not fit to be substituted to the Aleppo nut in dyeing, as it hath been rather inconsiderately imagined. The extension would have been still greater, had it been possible to put an end to smuggling. But notwithstanding the vigilance of ten cruizers, with eighty-six guns, one hundred and ninety-two swivels, and five hundred and eighteen men on board; notwithstanding twelve posts, with ten or twelve soldiers in each, established along the coast, and notwithstanding the annual expence of 1,400,000 livres [58,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] the contraband trade hath not been entirely eradicated; and it is chiefly at Coro that it is carried on.

The nation has profited equally by the establishment of the company. It does not pay them for the cacao more than half the price which the Dutch used to charge. The quintal, which is now bought in Spain for 160 livres [6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] used formerly to cost 320 [13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*]

The advantages which accrue to the government

from the establishment of the company are not less evident. Before this period, the revenues of the crown at Venezuela, were never sufficient to defray the expences of sovereignty. They have since increased considerably, not only because the citadel of Puerto Cabello has been constructed, which hath cost 1,620,000 livres [67,500*l.*] but also, because a greater number of regular troops are maintained in the country. The treasury, however, hath some superfluous cash, which it distributes at Cumana, at St. Margarets, at Trinity island, and on the Oroonoko. This is not the whole. In Europe, the productions of the country pay annually to the state more than 1,600,000 [66,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] and the navigation they give rise to forms fifteen hundred sailors for it, or keeps them inconstant employment.

But hath the company itself been equally prosperous? There was every reason to doubt in the beginning, whether it would maintain itself. Although the colonists were allured to become members of it, they refused at first to deliver their productions to it. In Spain, where a commercial association was a novelty, no great eagerness was shewn to become a member of it, notwithstanding the example set by the monarch, by the queen, by the infant Don Lewis, and by the province of Guipuscoa. It was necessary to reduce the number of shares to fifteen hundred, which it had been resolved to carry on to three thousand; and the capital, intended to be six millions [250,000*l.*] was reduced to three [125,000*l.*] These difficulties did not prevent considerable dividends from being paid to the proprietors, even in the very first years. The sums in reserve were, however, sufficient, in 1752, to double the original funds, and in 1766 to treble them, with a regular interest of five per cent. exclusive of the extraordinary dividends. On the first of January 1772, the company's debts, even including the value of the shares, which had risen to 1,000,000 livres [375,000*l.*] amounted to no more than 15,198,618 livres 12 sols [633,275*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*] and they were in possession of 21,153,760 livres 4 sols [881,407*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*] Consequently, they had 5,955,141 livres 12 sols [248,150*l.* 18*s.*] above what they owed.

The improper spirit that generally prevails in exclusive societies, hath not affected that of Caraccas so much as others. It hath never been led astray from its system by absurd enterprises. Its integrity hath preserved it from every kind of law, and even from the slightest contest. That its destiny might not be exposed to the caprices of the ocean, or to the risks of war, its cargoes have been all of them insured. Its engagements have been fulfilled with inviolable fidelity. And, lastly, in a country where most of the landed estates are entailed, and where there are few good vents for money, the company hath obtained all that it wanted, at two and a half per cent.

In order to conciliate to itself the good wishes of the nation, which are generally denied in all parts to a monopoly, the company hath always been desirous of appearing animated with a public spirit. From the year 1735, it took upon itself the care of the manufactures of Placentia, which scarce used to furnish eight thousand firelocks per annum; and which, at present, without reckoning some other kinds of arms that have begun to be fabricated there, supplies fourteen thousand four hundred, with the scutcheons of their locks, which it was before necessary to bring from Liege. Though during the short war of 1762, six of the company's vessels, richly laden, fell into the hands of the English, it still devoted to government all the credit and influence it possessed. Wood for the building of ships was perishing in the province of Navarre, so that it became necessary to cut it down. Roads were also to be made to bring it down to the borders of the Vidossa, and this uncertain river was to be put in a state fit to carry this wood to its mouth, after which it was to be conducted to the important harbour of Ferrol. Since the year 1766, all these things are executed by the company to the great advantage of the military branch of the navy.

This company still continues to announce other enterprises useful to the state; but it is a matter of doubt whether it will be allowed time to execute them. The resolution which the court of Madrid seems to have

taken, to open its ports of the New World to all its subjects of the Old, must necessarily excite a presumption that the province of Venezuela will, sooner or latter, cease to be under the restraints of a monopoly. It is however a problem, whether the dissolution of the company will be productive of good or evil; and it can only be solved by the nature of the measures that shall be adopted by the Spanish ministry.

The Court of Madrid gives up Cumana to the care of Las Casas. Ineffectual attempts of this celebrated man to render this district flourishing.

The coast of Cumana was discovered in 1498 by Columbus. Ojeda, who had embarked with this great navigator, landed there the next year, and even made some exchanges peaceably with the savages. It appeared more convenient to the adventurers who succeeded him, to strip these feeble men of their gold or of their pearls; and this kind of robbery was as common in this region as in the other parts of America, when Las Casas undertook to put a stop to it.

This man, so famous in the annals of the New World, had accompanied his father at the time of the first discovery. The mildness and simplicity of the Indians affected him so strongly, that he made himself an ecclesiastic, in order to devote his labours to their conversion. But this soon became the least of his attentions. Being more a *man* than a *priest*, he felt more for the cruelties exercised against them than for their ridiculous superstitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemisphere to the other, in order to comfort those for whom he had conceived such an attachment, or to soften their tyrants. The inutility of his efforts convinced him, that he should never do any good in settlements that were already formed; and he proposed to himself to establish a colony upon a new foundation.

His colonists were all to be planters, artificers, or missionaries. No one was to be allowed to mix with them without his consent. A particular dress, ornamented with a cross, was to prevent them from being thought to belong to that race of Spainards which had rendered

inself so odious. He reckoned, that with these kinds of knights, he should be able, without war, violence, or slavery, to civilize the Indians, to convert them, to accustom them to labour, and even to employ them in working the mines. He asked no assistance from the treasury at first, and he was afterwards satisfied with the twelfth of the tributes which he should sooner or later bring into it.

The ambitious, who govern empires, consider the people as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happiness of the human species. Such was at first the impression which the system of Las Casas made upon the Spanish ministry. He was not discouraged by denials, and at length succeeded in having the district of Cumana ceded to him, to put his theory in practice. This man of ardent genius immediately went through all the provinces of Castile, in order to collect men accustomed to the labours of the field, and to those of manufactures. But these peaceful citizens had not so eager a desire to leave their country as soldiers or sailors have. Scarce could he prevail upon two hundred of them to follow him. With these he set sail for America, and landed at Porto-Rico in 1519, after a fortunate voyage.

Although Las Casas had only quitted the new hemisphere two years before, yet he found a total alteration in it at his return. The entire destruction of the Indians in the islands subject to Spain, had excited the resolution of going to the continent in search of slaves, to replace the unfortunate men who had perished from oppression. This cruelty disgusted the independent minds of the savages. In the height of their resentment, they massacred as many of the Spaniards as fell into their hands by chance; and two missionaries, who probably came to Cumana with a laudable design, were the victims of these just retaliations. Ocampo immediately went from St. Domingo, to punish an outrage committed, as it was said, against Heaven itself; and after having destroyed all by fire and sword, he built a village upon the spot, which he called Toledo.

It was within these weak palisades that Las Casas was obliged to place the small number of his companions who had resisted the intemperance of the climate, and the attempts made to seduce them from him. Their residence was not long here. Most of them were pierced with the darts of an implacable enemy; and those who escaped, were forced, in 1521, to seek an asylum somewhere else.

Some Spaniards have since settled at Cumana; but the population of this district hath always been much confined, and hath never extended to any distance from the coasts. During the course of two centuries, the mother-country had not any direct intercourse with this spot. It is but lately, that one or two small ships have been sent there annually, which, in exchange for the liquors and merchandize of Europe, receive cocoa and some other productions.

*Of the river
Oroonoko.*

It was Columbus, who, in 1498, first discovered the Oroonoko, the borders of which have since been named Spanish Guiana. This great river takes its source among the Cordeleiras mountains, and discharges itself into the ocean by forty openings, after it hath been increased throughout an immense track by the afflux of a prodigious number of rivers more or less considerable. Such is its impetuosity, that it stems the strongest tides, and preserves the freshness of its waters to the distance of twelve leagues from that vast and deep channel within which it was confined. Its rapidity, however, is not always the same, which is owing to a circumstance perhaps entirely peculiar. The Oroonoko, which begins to swell in April, continues rising for five months, and during the sixth remains at its greatest height. From October, it begins gradually to subside till the month of March, throughout the whole of which it remains in the fixed state of its greatest diminution. These alternate changes are regular, and even invariable.

This phenomenon seems to depend much more on the sea than on the land. In the six months that the river

is rising, the hemisphere of the new world presents nothing but seas, at least but little land, to the perpendicular action of the rays of the sun. In the six months of its fall, America exhibits nothing but dry land to the planet by which it is illuminated. The sea at this time is less subject to the influence of the sun, or, at least, its current towards the eastern shore is more balanced, more broken by the land, and must therefore leave a freer course to the rivers, which not being then so strongly confined by the sea, cannot be swelled but by rains, or by the melting of the snows from the Cordelairias. Perhaps, indeed, the rising of the waters of the Oroonoko may depend entirely on the rainy season. But to be thoroughly acquainted with the causes of so singular a phenomenon, it would be necessary to consider the connection between the course of this river, and that of the Amazons by Rio Negro, and to know the track and direction both of the one and the other. From the difference of their position, their source, and their opening into the sea, it is not improbable that the cause of so remarkable a difference in the periods of their flux and reflux might be discovered. All things are connected in this world by system. The courses of the rivers depend either on the diurnal or annual revolutions of the earth. Whenever enlightened men shall have visited the banks of the Oroonoko, they will discover, or at least they will attempt to discover, the causes of these phenomena: but their endeavours will be attended with difficulties. This river is not so navigable as it might be presumed from its magnitude; its bed is in many places filled up with rocks, which oblige the navigator, at times, to carry both his boats and the merchandize they are laden with.

BEFORE the arrival of the Europeans, the people who border on this river, but little distant from the burning equator, knew not the use of clothes, nor the restraints of police; neither had they any form of government. Free under the yoke of poverty, they lived

Former and present condition of the women on the banks of the Oroonoko.

chiefly by hunting and fishing, and on wild fruits. But little of their time or labour could be spent on agriculture, where they had nothing but a stick to plough with, and hatchets made of stone to cut down trees; which, after being burned or rotted, left the soil in a proper state for bearing.

The women lived in a state of oppression on the Oroonoko, as they do in all barbarous regions. The savage, whose wants engage his whole attention, is employed only in providing for his safety and his subsistence. He hath no other allurements to partake of the pleasures of love, than that more natural instinct which attends to the perpetuity of the species. The intercourse between the two sexes, which is generally casual, would scarce ever be followed by any permanent consequences, if paternal and maternal tenderness did not attach the parents to their offspring. But before the first child can provide for itself, others are born, which call for the same care. At length the infant arrives, when this social reason exists no more: but then the power of long habit, the comfort of seeing ourselves surrounded by a family more or less numerous, the hopes of being assisted in our latter years by our posterity: all these circumstances expel the idea and the wish of a separation. The men are the persons who reap the greatest advantages from this cohabitation. Among people who hold nothing in estimation but strength and courage, tyranny is always exercised over weakness, in return for the protection that is afforded it. The women live in a state of disgrace. Labours, considered as the most abject, are their portion. Men, whose hands are accustomed to the handling of arms, and to the management of the oar, would think themselves degraded, if they employed them in sedentary occupations, or even in the labours of agriculture.

Among a people of shepherds, who having a more certain existence, can bestow rather more attention upon making it agreeable, the women are less wretched. In the ease and leisure which they enjoy, these people can form to themselves an idea of beauty; they can indulge their taste in the object of their affections; and, to the

idea of natural pleasure, can add that of a more noble sensation.

The connection between the two sexes are still further improved, as soon as the lands begin to be cultivated. Property, which had no existence among savages, and was of little consequence among a people of shepherds, begins to acquire a degree of importance among a people engaged in agriculture. The inequality which soon introduces itself among the fortunes of men, must occasion some in the consideration they hold. The ties of marriage are then no longer formed by chance, but according to conditions in life that are suitable to each other. A man, in order to be accepted, must make himself agreeable; and this necessity brings on attentions to the women, and gives them a degree of dignity.

They receive additional importance from the establishment of the arts and of commerce. Business is then increased, and connections are complicated. Men, who are often obliged, from more extensive affairs, to quit their manufactures and their home, are under the necessity of adding to their talents the vigilance of their wives. As the habit of gallantry, luxury, and dissipation, hath not yet entirely disgusted them of solitary or serious occupations, they devote themselves, without reserve, and with force, to functions with which they think themselves honoured. The retirement which this kind of life requires, renders the practice of all the domestic virtues dear and familiar to them. The influence, the respect, and the attachment of all those that are about them, are the reward of a conduct so estimable.

At length the time comes, when men grow disgusted of labour, from the increase of their fortunes. Their principal care is to prevent time from hanging heavy on their hands, to multiply their amusements, and to extend their enjoyments. At this period, the women are eagerly sought after, both on account of the amiable qualities they hold from nature, and of those they have received from education. Their connections become more extensive, so that they are no longer suited for a retired life, but required to shine in a more brilliant scene.

When introduced upon the stage of the world, they become the soul of every pleasure, and the *primum mobile* of the most important affairs. Supreme happiness consists in making one's self agreeable to them; and it is the height of ambition to obtain some distinction from them. Then it is, that the freedom which exists between the two sexes in a state of nature is revived, with this remarkable difference, that, in polished cities, the husband is often less attached to his wife, and the wife to her husband, than in the midst of the forests; that their offspring, trusted, at the instant of their birth, to the hands of mercenaries, are no longer a tie; and that infidelity, which would be attended with no fatal consequences among most savage people, affects domestic tranquillity and happiness among civilized nations, where it is one of the principal symptoms of general corruption, and of the extinction of all decent affections.

The tyranny exercised against the women upon the banks of the Oroonoko, still more than in the rest of the New World, must be one of the principal causes of the depopulation of these countries that are so much favoured by nature. Mothers have contracted the custom of destroying the daughters they bring forth, by cutting the umbilical cord so close to the body, that the children die of an hæmorrhage. Christianity itself hath not even been able to put a stop to this abominable practice. The fact is confirmed by the Jesuit Gumilla; who being informed that one of his converts had been guilty of such a murder, went to her, in order to reproach her of her crime in the strongest terms. The woman listened to the emissary, without shewing the least signs of emotion. When he had finished his remonstrance, she desired leave to answer him, which she did in the following manner:

“Would to God, O Father! Would to God, that,
 “at the instant of my birth, my mother had shewed
 “love and compassion enough for her child, to spare me
 “all the evils I have endured, and those I shall still suf-
 “fer, to the end of my life! Had my mother de-
 “stroyed me at my birth, I should have died, but I
 “should not have been sensible of my death; and

“ should have escaped the most miserable of conditions.
 “ How much have I already suffered ; and who knows
 “ what I have still to undergo !

“ Represent to thyself, O Father, the troubles that
 “ are reserved for an Indian woman among these Indians.
 “ They accompany us into the fields with their bow
 “ and arrows ; while we go there, laden with an infant,
 “ whom we carry in a basket, and another, who hangs
 “ at our breast. They go to kill birds, or to catch fish ;
 “ while we are employed in digging the ground, and
 “ after having gone through all the labours of the cul-
 “ ture, are obliged also to bear those of the harvest.
 “ They return in the evening without any burthen ;
 “ and we bring them roots for their food, and maize for
 “ their drink. As soon as they come home, they go
 “ and amuse themselves with their friends ; while we
 “ are fetching wood and water to prepare for their
 “ supper. When they have eaten, they fall asleep ; and
 “ we pass almost the whole night in grinding the maize,
 “ and in preparing the chicha for them. And what re-
 “ ward have we for these labours ? They drink ; and when
 “ they are intoxicated, they drag us by the hair, and
 “ trample us under foot.

“ O Father, would to God that my mother had de-
 “ stroyed me at the instant of my birth ! Thou know-
 “ est thyself that our complaints are just ; thou hast daily
 “ instances before thine eyes of the truth, of my af-
 “ flictions. But the greatest misfortune we labour un-
 “ der it is impossible thou shouldst know. It is a
 “ melancholy circumstance for a poor Indian woman
 “ to serve her husband as a slave in the fields, oppressed
 “ with fatigue, and at home deprived of tranquillity :
 “ but it is a dreadful thing, when twenty years are
 “ elapsed, to see him take another woman, whose judg-
 “ ment is not formed. He attaches himself to her.
 “ She beats our children ; she commands us ; and treats
 “ us as her servants ; and if the least surmiser escape us, a
 “ stick raised Oh ! Father, how is it pos-
 “ sible that we should bear this condition ? What can
 “ an Indian woman do better than to prevent her child

“ from living in a state of slavery infinitely worse than death? Would to God, O Father! I repeat it, that my mother had conceived affection for me to bury me when I was born! My heart would not have been thus afflicted, nor would mine eyes have been accustomed to tears.”

State of the Spanish colony formed on the banks of the Oroonoko.

THE Spaniards, who could not pay attention to all the regions they discovered, lost sight of the Oroonoko. They did not attempt to sail up this river again till the year 1535, when, not having found there the mines they were in search of, they neglected it. Nevertheless, the few who had been thrown upon this spot, devoted themselves with so much assiduity to the culture of tobacco, that they delivered a few cargoes of it every year to the foreign vessels which came to purchase it. This contraband trade was prohibited by the mother-country, and this weak settlement was twice plundered by enterprising pirates. These disasters occasioned it to be forgotten. It was recalled to mind again in 1753. The commodore Nicholas de Yturiaga was sent there. This prudent man established a regular system of government in the colony that had formed itself hitherto in this part of the New World.

In 1771, thirteen villages were seen upon the banks of the Oroonoko, which contained four thousand two hundred and nineteen Spaniards, Moctes, Mulattoes or Negroes; four hundred and thirty-one plantations; and twelve thousand eight hundred and fifty-four oxen, mules, or horses.

At the same period, the Indians, who had been prevailed upon to quit their savage life, were distributed in forty-nine hamlets.

The five of these which had been under the direction of the Jesuits, computed fourteen hundred and twenty-six inhabitants; three hundred and forty-four plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven of them, which are under the direction of the Franciscan friars, reckoned nineteen hundred and thirty-four inhabitants, three hundred and five plantations, and nine hundred and fifty heads of cattle.

Eleven others, which are under the direction of the capuchins of Arragon, computed two thousand two hundred and eleven inhabitants, four hundred and seventy plantations, and five hundred and seven heads of cattle.

The two and twenty which are under the direction of the capuchins of Catalonia, reckoned six thousand eight hundred and thirty inhabitants, fifteen hundred and ninety-two plantations, and forty-six thousand heads of cattle.

This amounted in the whole to sixty-two colonies, sixteen thousand six hundred and twenty inhabitants, three thousand one hundred and forty-two plantations, and seventy-two thousand three hundred and forty one heads of cattle.

Till these last mentioned times, the Dutch of Curacao were the only persons who traded with this settlement. They supplied its wants, and were paid with tobacco, hides, and cattle. The bargains were all concluded at St. Thomas, the capital of the colony. The Negroes and the Europeans managed their own affairs; but they were the missionaries alone who treated for their converts. The same arrangement of things still subsists, although for some years past the competition of the Spanish ships hath begun to keep away the smuggling vessels.

It is pleasing to entertain a hope that these vast and fertile regions will at length emerge from the state of obscurity into which they are plunged, and that the seeds which have been sown there will produce, sooner or later, abundant fruits. Between a savage life and a state of society, there is an immense desert to pass; but from the infancy of civilization to the full vigour of trade, there are but a few steps to take. Time, as it increases strength, shortens distances. The advantage that might be obtained from the labour of these new colonies, by procuring them conveniences, would bring riches to Spain.

*Short description
of the new king-
dom of Grenada.*

BEHIND these very extensive coasts of which we have been speaking, and in the inland part of the country, is found what the Spaniards call the new kingdom of Grenada. Its extent is prodigious. Its climate is more or less damp, more or less cold, more or less hot, and more or less temperate, according to the direction of the branches of the Cordeliers mountains, which intersect the different parts of it. Few of these mountains are susceptible of cultivation : but most of the plains and valleys that separate them exhibit a fertile soil.

Even before the conquest the country was very little inhabited. In the midst of the savages that wandered over it, a nation had, however, been formed, which had a religion, a form of government, and which practised cultivation. This nation, though inferior to the Mexicans and Peruvians, had raised itself much above the other people of America. Neither history nor tradition inform us in what manner this state had been created ; but we must suppose that it hath existed, although there be no traces remaining of its civilization.

This kingdom, if we may be allowed to call it so, was called Bogota. Benalcazar, who commanded at Quito, attacked it in 1526, on the south side ; and Quesada, who had landed at Saint Martha, attacked it on the north. It was to be supposed that men, united among themselves, accustomed to fight together, and led on by an absolute chief, would make some resistance. This they accordingly did ; but were at length obliged to yield to the valour, the arms, and the discipline of the Europeans. The two Spanish captains had the glory, since it is one, of adding one large possession to those with which their sovereigns had suffered themselves to be overloaded in this new hemisphere. In process of time, the provinces more or less distant from this central point were partly subjected. We say partly, because such is the natural disposition of the country, that it was never possible to subdue all its inhabitants ; and that those among them who had submitted to the yoke, broke it as soon as they

had the courage to determine resolutely about it. It is not even improbable that most of them would have taken this resolution, had they been employed in those destructive labours which have caused such ravages in the other parts of the New World.

SOME writers have spoken with almost unexampled enthusiasm of the riches which were at first derived from this new kingdom. They make them amount to a sum capable of astonishing the minds of those who are most eager of the marvellous. Never, perhaps, was exaggeration carried so far. If the reality had only approached near to the fabulous accounts, this remarkable prosperity would have been recorded in the public registers, as well as the state of all the colonies that are really important. Other monuments could have perpetuated the remembrance of it. These treasures have never, therefore, existed at any time, except under the pen of a few writers, naturally credulous, or who suffered themselves to be seduced by the hope of adding to the splendour with which their country already shone.

What the new kingdom of Grenada hath been, what it is, and what it may become.

The new kingdom furnishes at present the emerald, a precious stone, which is transparent, and of a green colour, and which hath no greater degree of hardness than the rock crystal.

Some countries of Europe furnish emeralds; but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little estimation.

It was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the East Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion hath been rejected, since those who supported it have not been able to name the places where they were found. It is now certain that Asia hath never sold us any of these jewels, except what she herself had received from the new hemisphere.

These beautiful emeralds, therefore, belong certainly to America alone. The first conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from an opinion which these adventurers enter-

tained, that they would not break if they were fine. This loss became the more sensibly felt through the impossibility of discovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn them. The kingdom of New Grenada soon supplied his deficiency. This district sends at present a less quantity of these jewels, whether it be that they are become more scarce, or that they are less in fashion in our climate than they were. But gold comes from thence in greater plenty, and it is supplied by the provinces of Popayan and Chaco. It is obtained without much risk, and at no considerable expence.

This precious metal, which in other parts must be dugged out of the entrails of rocks, mountains, and precipices, is here found almost at the surface of the earth. It is mixed with it, but easily separated by washings, more or less frequently repeated. The negroes, who are never employed in mines of any depth, because experience hath shewn that the cold in these mines destroyed them very fast, are the only persons burdened with these troublesome labours. The custom is, that the slaves should bring to their masters a certain quantity of gold. All they can collect above this quantity belongs to themselves, as also what they find upon the days consecrated to rest by religion, but under the express condition that they shall provide for their subsistence during these holidays. By these arrangements, the most laborious, the most frugal, and the most fortunate among them, are able, sooner or later, to purchase their liberty. Then they raise their eyes towards the Spaniards; then they mix their blood with that of these proud conquerors.

The court of Madrid was dissatisfied that a region, the natural advantages of which were continually extolled, should furnish so few articles, and so little of each. The distance of this immense country from the centre of authority, established at Lima for the government of all South America, must have been one of the principal causes of this inactivity. A more immediate superintendance was accordingly given to it, in order to communicate more motion to it, and to make that motion more regular. The vice-royalty of Peru was divided into two parts. That which was established in 1718, in the new kingdom of

Grenada, was formed upon the North sea, of all that space that extends from the frontiers of Mexico to the Oroonoko; and upon the South sea of that space which begins at Veragua and ends at Tombez. In the inland parts of the country Quito was also incorporated in it.

This new arrangement, though prudent and necessary, did not at first produce the great advantages that were expected from it. Much time is required to form good directors; and more still, perhaps, to establish order, and to restore to labour whole generations, enervated by continuing for two centuries in a state of idleness and libertinism. The revolution hath, however, begun to take place; and Spain already receives some benefit from it.

Half of the gold collected in the colony, was smuggled to foreigners; and it was chiefly by the rivers Atrato and de la Hache that this clandestine trade was carried on. The government have made themselves masters of the course of these rivers, by forts properly situated. Notwithstanding these precautions, the smuggling will still continue, as long as the Spaniards and their neighbours shall find their interest in it; but it will diminish. The harbours of the mother-country will send a greater quantity of merchandize, and will receive more metals.

The communication between one province, one city, and even one village and another, was difficult or impracticable. Every traveller was more or less exposed to be plundered or massacred by the independent Indians. These enemies, who were formerly implacable, yield by degrees, to the invitations of the missionaries who have the courage to go in search of them, and to the marks of benevolence which have at length succeeded to the cruelties so generally practised in the New World. If this mild spirit should be continued, the savages of this region may one day become all civilized, and have a fixed residence.

Notwithstanding the known goodness of great part of the territory, several of the provinces forming the new kingdom used to draw their subsistence from Europe or from North America. At length the government have

been able to prohibit the importation of foreign flour throughout the extent of the vice-royalty, and even to furnish Cuba with some. When the means shall no longer be wanting, private plantations will be established in the New World along the coasts; but the difficulty and the dearth of transport will never allow the inland parts of their country to extend their harvests beyond what is required for local consumption. The chief wish of the people who inhabit these parts is generally confined to the extension of the mines.

Every thing announces that these mines are in a manner innumerable in the new kingdom. The quality of the soil points them out. The almost daily earthquakes that happen there are owing to them. It is from them that the gold must flow, which the rivers habitually carry along with them; and it is from them that the gold came, which the Spaniards, at their first arrival in the New World, took from the savages on the coasts in such great quantities. These are not mere conjectures at Maraquita, at Muso, at Pampoluna, at Tacayma, and at Canayerales. The great mines that are found there are going to be opened; and it is hoped they will not be less abundant than those of the valley of Neyva, which for some time past have been worked with so much success. These new treasures will all unite themselves to those of Chaco and Popayan in Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of the vice-royalty.

The city is situated at the foot of a steep and cold mountain, at the entrance of a vast and superb plain. In 1774, it contained seventeen hundred and seventy houses, three thousand two hundred and forty-six families, and sixteen thousand two hundred and thirty-three inhabitants. Population must necessarily increase there, since it is the seat of government, the place where the coin is stricken, the staple of trade; and lastly, since it is the residence of an archbishop, whose immediate jurisdiction extends over thirty-one Spanish villages, which are called towns; over one hundred and ninety-five Indian colonies, anciently subdued; and over eight and twenty missions, established in modern times. This archbishop

hath likewise, as metropolitan, a sort of inspection over the dioceses of Quito, of Panama, of Caraccas, of Saint Martha, and of Carthagena. It is by this last place, though at the distance of one hundred leagues, and by the river Magdalena, that Santa Fe keeps up its communication with Europe. The same route serves for Quito.

This province is of immense extent ; but the greatest part of this vast space is full of forests, morasses, and deserts, in which we meet with nothing but a few wandering savages, at great intervals of distance. The only part that can properly be said to be occupied, and governed by the Spaniards, is a valley of fourscore leagues in length, and fifteen in breadth, formed by two branches of the Cordeleirias. *Remarkable singularities in the province of Quito.*

This is one of the finest countries in the world. Even in the centre of the torrid zone spring here is perpetual. Nature hath combined, under the line that covers so many seas and so little land, every circumstance that could moderate the ardent heat of that beneficent constellation which is the cause of universal fertility : these are, the elevation of the globe in this summit of its sphere ; the vicinity of mountains of immense height and extent, and always covered with snows ; and continual winds which refresh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. Nevertheless, after a morning which is usually delightful, vapours begin to arise about one or two o'clock in the forenoon. The sky is covered with gloomy clouds, which are changed into storms. Then the whole atmosphere is illuminated, and appears to be set on fire by lightening ; and the thunder makes the mountains resound with a terrible noise. To these, dreadful earthquakes are sometimes added ; at other times, rain or sunshine prevails without intermission for fifteen days together ; and then there is an universal consternation. The excess of moisture spoils what is sown, and drought produces dangerous diseases.

But, if we except these unhappy accidents, which are extremely rare, the climate is one of the most wholesome. The air is so pure, that those nauseous insects are there unknown which infest almost the whole of America. Though licentiousness and neglect render venereal complaints here almost general, the people suffer very little from them. Those who have inherited this contagious distemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

The moisture and the action of the sun being continual, and always sufficient to unfold and strengthen the shoots, the agreeable picture of the three most beautiful seasons of the year is continually presented to the eye of the inhabitants. In proportion as the grass withers, fresh grass springs up; and the enamel of the meadow is hardly past, but it appears afresh. The trees are incessantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form, and beauty, of which are continually varying in all their several progressive states, from their first appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the same progression of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new sown seed springing up, some that is grown larger and spiked with ears, some turning yellow, and some under the reaper's scythe. The whole year is passed in sowing and reaping, within the compass of the same horizon. This constant variety depends on the diversity of the exposures.

*Reasons why
the country of
Quito is so po-
pulous as it is.
Labours of its
inhabitants.*

ACCORDINGLY, this is the most populous part of the continent of America. There are ten or twelve thousand inhabitants at St. Michael d'Ibarra; eighteen or twenty thousand at Otavalo; ten or twelve thousand at Latacunga; eighteen or twenty thousand at Riobamba; eight or ten thousand at Hambato; from five-and-twenty to thirty thousand at Cuenca; ten thousand at Loxa; and six thousand at Zaruma.

The country places do not afford a less number of men than the towns.

Population would certainly be less considerable, if, as in many other places, the people had been buried in the mines. Numberless writers have blamed the inhabitants of this district for not having continued to work the mines that were opened at the time of the conquest, and for having neglected those that have been successively discovered. This reproach appears to be ill-founded to enlightened persons, who have an opportunity of examining nearly into these matters. Their opinion in general is, that the mines of this district are not sufficiently plentiful to defray the necessary expences of working them. We shall not pretend to decide upon this dispute. Nevertheless, if we do but just consider the passion which the Spaniards have always shewn for the kind of wealth, which, without any labour on their parts, costs nothing more than the blood of their slaves, we shall be induced to think, that nothing but a total impossibility, evinced by repeated experience, can have determined them to resist their natural propensity, and the urgent solicitations of the mother-country.

In the country of Quito, the manufactures keep those persons employed, who in other parts are enervated by the mines. Many hats, cottons, and coarse woollen cloths, are fabricated there. With the produce of the quantity of these articles, consumed in the different countries of South America, Quito paid for the wines, brandy, and oils, which it was not allowed to procure from its own soil for the dried and salt fish that came from the coasts; for the soap, made of goats grease, that was supplied by Piura and Truscillo; for the crude or wrought iron that was wanted for its manufactures; and for the small quantity that it was possible it should consume of the merchandize of our hemisphere. These resources have been considerably lessened, since manufactures of the same kind have been established in the neighbouring provinces; and especially since the superior cheapness of the European cottons and linens hath extended the use of them in a singular manner. Accord-

ingly, the country is fallen into the most extreme state of misery.

It will never emerge from this situation by its provisions. Not but that its fields are in general covered with sugar-canes, with all sorts of corn, with delicious fruits, and with numerous flocks. It would be difficult to find a soil so fertile, and cultivated with so little expence; but nothing that it furnishes can supply foreign markets. Its natural riches must be consumed upon the same territory that hath produced them. The bark is its only production which it has hitherto been possible to export

The bark comes from the province of Quito. Reflections upon this remedy.

THE tree which yields this precious remedy hath a straight stem, and rises to a considerable height when left to itself. Its trunk and its branches are proportioned to its height. The leaves, which are opposite, and connected at their base by an intermediary membrane or stipula, are of an oval figure, spread out at the lower part, and acute at their apex; they are very smooth and of a beautiful green. From the axillæ of the upper leaves, which are smaller, arise clusters of flowers, resembling, at first sight, those of the lavender. Their calix, which is short, hath five divisions. The corolla forms an elongated tube, bluish on the outside, and red within; it is filled with five stamina, spread out at the upper part, and divided into five lobes finely dentated. It bears upon a pistil, which being surmounted with a single style occupies the fundus of the calix, and becomes with it a dry fruit, truncated at the upper extremity, and divided longitudinally into two half-pods full of seeds, and lined with a membranous expansion.

This tree grows upon the slope of mountains. The only precious part of it is the bark, known by its febrifuge qualities, and which requires no other preparation than that of drying. The thickest was preferred, till repeated analyses and experiments had shewn, that the thinnest possessed most virtue.

The inhabitants distinguished three species, or rather three varieties of bark. The yellow and the red, which are in equal estimation, and differ only in the depth of their colour; and the white, which being of a much inferior quality, is not in great request. It is distinguished by its leaf being less smooth and rounder, its flower whiter, its seed larger, and its bark white on the outside. The bark of the good species is generally brown, brittle, and rough on its surface, with cracks upon it.

Upon the borders of the river Maragnon, the country of Jaen furnishes a great deal of white bark: but it was imagined, for a long time, that the yellow and the red were found nowhere but upon the territory of Loxa, a town founded in 1546 by Captain Alonzo de Mercadillo. The most esteemed was that which grew at the distance of two leagues from this place, upon the mountain of Cajanuma; and no longer than fifty years ago, the merchants used to endeavour to prove by certificates, that the bark which they sold came from that celebrated spot. In endeavouring to increase the quantity collected, the old trees were destroyed, and the new ones were not suffered to come to their complete growth; so that the tallest of them are at present scarce three toises high. This scarcity occasioned the trees to be searched for in other places. At length the same tree was discovered at Riobamba, at Cuenca, in the neighbourhood of Loxa, and still more recently at Bogota in the new kingdom.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jesuits, who had brought it there, distributed it gratis to the poor, and sold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, physician to a vice queen of Peru, who had experienced the salutary effects of it, established it in Spain at a hundred crowns a pound [12l. 10s.] This remedy soon acquired great reputation, which it maintained till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to supply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that for which there was so much demand. This fraud diminished the confidence that had been placed in the bark. The measures taken by the court of Madrid to remedy so dangerous

an imposition, were not entirely successful. The late discoveries have been more effectual than authority, in putting a stop to this adulteration. Accordingly, the use of the remedy hath become more general, especially in England.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country were very anciently acquainted with the bark, and that they had recourse to its virtues in intermittent fevers. It was simply infused in water, and the liquor given to the patient to drink, free of the residuum. M. Joseph de Jussieu taught them to make the extract from it, the use of which is much preferable to that of the bark in kind.

This botanist, the most intelligent of those whom their zeal for the improvement of natural history hath carried into the Spanish possessions in the New World, had formed a much more extensive plan. He went over most of the mountains of South America with incredible fatigues, and was just going to enrich Europe with the valuable discoveries he had made, when his papers were stolen from him. An excellent memory might partly have repaired this misfortune; but he was also deprived of this resource. There was great want of a physician and an engineer in Peru. M. de Jussieu possessed all the knowledge which these two professions required, and the government of the country called upon him to employ his talents in this double capacity. These new employments were accompanied with so many contradictions, so much disgust and ingratitude, that this excellent man could not bear up against them. His mind was totally deranged, when, in 1771, he was embarked, without fortune, for a country which he had quitted six-and-thirty years. Neither the government which had sent him to the other hemisphere, nor that which had detained him there, condescended to take any care of his future destiny; which would indeed have been deplorable, had it not been for the tenderness of a brother, as respectable for his virtues as celebrated for his knowledge. The worthy nephews of M. Bernard de Jussieu have inherited their uncle's attention to this unfortunate traveller,

who died in 1779. May this conduct of a family, whose name is illustrious in the sciences, serve as a model to all those who, either for their happiness or their misfortune, apply themselves to the cultivation of literature.

M. Joseph de Jussieu, who found that the people had received with docility the instructions he had given them respecting the bark, endeavoured also to persuade them to improve, by constant and regular attention, the wild cochineal, which the country itself supplied their manufactures with, and the coarse cinnamon which they drew from Quixos and Macas: but his advice hath hitherto had no effect, whether it be that these productions have not been found susceptible of any improvement, or whether no pains have been taken to bring it about.

The last conjecture will appear the most probable to those who have a proper idea of the manners of the country. Still more generally than the other Spanish Americans, they live in a state of idleness from which nothing can rouse them, and in debaucheries which no motive can interrupt. These manners are more particularly the manners of the persons, whose residence, from birth, employments, or fortune, is fixed in the city of Quito, the capital of the province, and very agreeably built upon the declivity of the celebrated mountain of Pit-chincha. Fifty thousand Mestees, Indians, or negroes, allured by those seducing examples, also infect this spot with their vices, and in particular carry their passion for rum, and for gaming, to an excess that is unknown in the other great cities of the New World.

But, in order to relieve our imagination from such a number of distressing pictures, which, perhaps, have too much engaged our attention, let us for a moment quit these bloody scenes, and let us enter into Peru, fixing our contemplation upon those frightful mountains, where learned and bold astronomers went to measure the figure of the earth. Let us indulge ourselves in those sensations which they undoubtedly experienced, and which every traveller, learned or ignorant, must

experience, wherever nature presents him with such a scene. Let us even be allowed to throw out some general conjectures respecting the formation of mountains.

At the sight of those enormous masses, which rise to such prodigious heights above the humble surface of the earth, where almost all mankind have fixed their residence; of those masses, which on one spot are crowned with impenetrable and ancient forests that have never refounded with the stroke of the hatchet, and which present, on another, nothing more than a barren and dreary surface; which in one country reign in sedate and silent majesty, that stops the cloud in its course, and breaks the impetuosity of the wind; while in another, they keep the traveller at a distant from their summits by ramparts of ice that surround them, from the centre of which volleys of flame issue forth; or frighten him who attempts to ascend them, with horrid and concealed caverns dugged on each side: masses, several of which give vent to impetuous torrents descending with dreadful noise from their open sides, or to rivers, streams, fountains, and boiling springs; all of them spreading their refreshing shade over the plains that surround them, and affording them a successive shelter against the heat of the sun, from the moment that luminary gilds their tops at the time of its rising, till that of its setting: at this aspect, I say, every man is fixed with astonishment, and the inquirer into nature is led into reflections.

He asks himself, who it is that hath given birth here to Vesuvius, to *Ætna*, to the Appenines, and here to the Cordeleirias? These mountains, are they as old as the world, have they been produced in an instant, or is the stony particle that is detached from them more ancient than they are? Can they be the bones of a skeleton, of which the other terrestrial substances are the flesh? Are they distinct masses; or do they hold together by one great common trunk, of which they are so many branches, and which serves as a foundation to themselves, and as a basis for every thing that covers them?

If we agree with one philosopher: "The centre of the earth being occupied by an immense reservoir of

"waters, the substance that contained them suddenly burst. The cataracts of the sky were immediately opened, and the whole globe was confounded and sunk under water. The fabulous account of chaos was renewed; and the earth did not begin to extricate itself from this state, till the time when the different materials precipitated, according to the laws of gravity, by which they were successively impelled; the layers of these several heterogeneous substances were heaped one upon another, and raised their summits above the surface of the waters, which were to dig a bed for themselves in the plains."

Another philosopher observes: "That these causes are insufficient to explain this phenomenon, without the intervention and approach of a comet, which he calls forth from the vast regions of space where these bodies lose themselves. The column of waters, he says, which this comet drew along with it was joined by those which rose from the subterranean abyss, and those which descended from the atmosphere. The action of the comet made them rise above the highest mountains, which were already existing; and from the sediment of this deluge they were reproduced."

A third writer treats all these opinions as idle dreams, and says: "Let us cast our eyes around us, and we shall see the mountains rising from the very element that destroys them. It is fire which hardens the soft layers of the earth; it is that which, assisted in its expansion by air and by water, throws them up, and drives their summits into the clouds; it is that which bursts them, and forms their immense caldrons. Every mountain is a volcano, which is either preparing, or hath ceased."

These opinions are again contradicted by a most eloquent modern writer, the charms of whose language, while I listen to it, scarce leave me at liberty to judge of his opinion. He says: "In the beginning there were no mountains. The surface of the globe was uniformly covered with waters, which were not, however, in a state of rest. The action of the satellite that accom-

" panies the earth agitated them, even to their greatest
 " depth, with the motion of ebb and flow which we
 " now see impressed upon them. At each oscillatory
 " motion, these waters dragged along with them a por-
 " tion of sediment, which they deposited upon a preced-
 " ing portion. It is upon these deposits, continued thro'
 " a long series of ages, that the layers of the earth have
 " been formed ; and the enormous, masses that astonish
 " us, are these layers accumulated. Time is nothing to
 " nature ; and the slightest cause, acting uninterrupted-
 " ly, is capable of producing the greatest effects. The
 " imperceptible and continued action of the waters hath
 " therefore formed the mountains ; and it is the still more
 " imperceptible, and not less continued, action of a va-
 " pour that softens them, and of a wind that dries them
 " up, which lowers them from day to day, and will at
 " length reduce them to a level with the plains. Then
 " the waters will again be spread uniformly over the
 " equal surface of the earth. Then the first phenome-
 " non will be renewed ; and who knows how often the
 " mountains have been destroyed and reproduced ?"

At these words, the observer Lehmann smiles, and
 presenting to me the book of the Jewish legislator,
 together with his own, says to me : " Respect this book,
 " and condescend to cast thine eyes upon mine." Lehmann
 hath explained, in his third volume of his *Art of mines*,
 his ideas upon the formation of the layers of the earth,
 and upon the production of mountains. His system is
 founded on constant and repeated observations made by
 himself, with a very uncommon degree of sagacity, and
 with a labour, the assiduity of which we can scarce con-
 ceive. They comprehend the space from the frontiers
 of Poland to the borders of the Rhine. The analogy
 which renders them applicable to several other regions,
 recommends the knowledge of them to men who are
 studious of natural history ; and although he attributes
 the formation of the layers of the earth to a deluge,
 the facts with which he supports his arguments are not
 the less certain, nor his discoveries the less interesting.

He distinguishes three kinds of mountains. The
 antediluvian, or primitive ; the postdiluvian ; and the

modern. The first, which are of different elevation, are the highest. They are seldom found distinct, but are usually formed into chains. The declivity of them is steep. They are surrounded on all sides by the post-diluvian mountains, or such as are composed of layers. The substance of them is more homogeneous; the portions of them less different; their beds are always perpendicular, and thicker. Their roots descend to a depth which is still unknown. The ores they contain run in the longitudinal direction of the mountain. Those in the postdiluvian mountains are disposed in layers, which are formed of different substances. The last of these, or that which is at the basis, is always of coal. The first, or that which is nearest the summit, always furnishes salt springs. The mountains never fail to terminate in the former. They supply copper, lead, quicksilver, iron, and even silver, but in leaves, and capillaceous. But they would deceive our avidity, if we expected to find gold in them. The mountains which produce this metal are the work of a deluge.

The modern mountains, produced by fire, by water, and by an infinite number of various and recent accidents, exhibit, in their internal parts, nothing but broken layers, a confused mixture of all kinds of substances, and all the marks of subversion and disorder.

It is in vain that nature had concealed the precious metals in the midst of these hard and most compact masses: our cupidity hath broken them. This circumstance, however, would not call for our censure, if we could say of the men employed in these dreadful labours, what we read of them in Cassiodorus: "They go down poor into the mines and come out of them wealthy. They enjoy a kind of riches which no man dares to take away from them. They are the only persons whose fortune is neither sullied by rapine nor mean-ness."

Europeans, reflect upon what this judicious writer adds: "To acquire gold by sacrificing men, is a crime. To go in search of it across the perils of the sea, is a folly. To amass it by corruption and vices, is base.

"The only profits that are just and honest, are those
 "that are acquired without injury to any person; and
 "we never can possess, without remorse, what we
 "have obtained at the expence of other men's hap-
 "piness."

And you, in order to have gold, you have gone across the seas. In order to have gold, you have invaded other countries. In order to have gold, you have sacrificed the greatest part of the inhabitants. In order to have gold, you have precipitated into the bowels of the earth those whom your daggers had spared. In order to have gold, you have introduced upon the earth the infamous trade of mankind and slavery. In order to have gold, you repeat the same crimes every day. May the chimerical idea of *Lazarro Moro* be realized; and may subterraneous flames set on fire at once all those mountains of which you have made so many dungeons, where innocence expires, for several ages past!

*Natural orga-
 nisation of
 Peru, properly
 so called.*

This curse would first fall upon the Cordelairias, or Andes, which cut almost the whole of America through its length, and the different branches of which extend themselves irregularly in its breadth. It is particularly under the line, and at Peru, that these mountains awe us by their majestic appearance. Through the enormous heaps of snow that cover the most considerable of them, it may easily be discerned that they formerly were volcanoes. The clouds of smoke, and gusts of flame, which still issue from some of them, cannot allow us to have the least doubt respecting the eruptions. Chimborazo, the highest of them, and which is near three thousand two hundred and twenty toises above the level of the sea, is more than one third higher than the peak of *Teneriff*, the loftiest mountain of the ancient hemisphere. The *Pitchineha* and the *Caracón*, which have principally served for taking the observations upon the figure of the earth, have only two thousand four hundred and thirty, and two thousand four hundred and seventy toises; and it is, however, at

this height, that the most intrepid travellers have been obliged to stop. Eternal snows have hitherto rendered summits of greater height inaccessible.

A plain, which is from thirty to fifty leagues in breadth, and is raised one thousand nine hundred and forty-nine toises above the level of the ocean, serves as the basis to these astonishing mountains. Part of this vast space is occupied by lakes more or less considerable. That of Titicaca, which receives ten or twelve large rivers, and several small ones, is seventy toises in depth, and fourscore leagues in circumference. In the midst of it there rises an island, where the legislators of Peru pretended to have received their birth. They owed it, as they said to the sun, who had prescribed to them to establish his worship, to raise mankind from a state of barbarism, and to give them beneficent laws. This fable rendered the spot venerable; and one of the most august temples in the empire was constructed upon it. Pilgrims resorted to it in crowds from the provinces, with offerings of gold, silver, and jewels. It is a tradition generally received in the country, that, at the arrival of the Spaniards, the priests and the inhabitants threw all these riches in to the waters, as they had before done at Cusco, in another lake, six leagues to the south of that celebrated capital. From most of the lakes there are torrents issuing; which, in process of time, have digged ravines of a tremendous depth. At the summit of them the mines are usually found in a soil generally arid. It is a little below this that the corn grows, and the cattle feed; in the bottom, the sugar, the fruits, and the maize are cultivated.

The coast, which is of an immense length, and from eight to twenty leagues in breadth, which extends from the plain we have been speaking of to the sea, and which is known to us by the name of the Valleys, is nothing but a heap of sand. Solitude and eternal barrenness seem as if they were intended to belong to this ungrateful soil.

Nature varies, and in a very remarkable manner, in this uneven territory. The most elevated places are perpetually covered with snow. After this come the

rocks and naked sands. Beneath these some mosses begin to shew themselves. Lower down is the Icho, a plant which they burn, somewhat resembling rushes; and which grows longer and stronger in proportion as one descends. At length the trees make their appearance, to the number of three species, particular to these mountains; and which, all of them, announce, in their structure and their foliage, the severity of the climate that produces them. The most useful of these trees is the cassia. It is weighty, hath some substance, and is lasting; and these qualities have occasioned it to be destined to the labours of the mines. These large vegetable productions are not to be met with under a milder sky, and they are only replaced by a small number of others of a different quality. There would not even be any one species in the valleys, if some had not been conveyed there, which have become naturalized.

*Circumstances
in which the
mountains,
plains, and val-
leys of Peru
differ from each
other.*

In this region, the air hath an evident influence upon the constitution of the inhabitants. Those of the most elevated districts are subject to asthmas, pleurifies, to pulmonary complaints, and to rheumatisms. These diseases, which are dangerous to all individuals that are seized with them, are commonly mortal to any one that hath contracted venereal maladies; or is addicted to strong liquors; and this is unfortunately the usual state of those who are born in these climates, or have been led into them by avarice.

These calamities do not affect the inferior mountains; but other scourges, still more fatal, are substituted to them. Putrid and intermittent fevers, unknown in the countries we have been mentioning, are habitual there. They are so easily caught, that travellers are afraid to come near the places that are infected with them. They are frequently so contagious, that, not a single man would escape the infection, if the inhabitants did not abandon their villages, in order to return to them against when a fresh season hath purified them. It was not thus in the time

of the Incas. But since the Spaniards have introduced the sugar canes into the narrow gorges of the mountains, where the air circulates with difficulty, there arise, from the moistened soil which this cultivation requires, infectious vapours, which, being heated by the rays of the burning sun, become fatal.

The tertian, and other intermittent fevers, are scarce less common or less obstinate in the valleys than in the gorges of the mountains: but they are infinitely less dangerous: they are seldom attended with fatal consequences, except in the country places where no helps are to be had, and where precautions are neglected.

Another general malady in this part of the New World, is the small-pox, which was brought there in 1588. It is not habitual, as in Europe; but it occasions, at intervals, inexpressible ravages. It attacks, indifferently, the white men, the Negroes, the Indians, and the mixed races. It is equally destructive in all the climates. Much advantage is to be expected from the practice of inoculation, introduced two years since at Lima, and which will undoubtedly soon become general.

There is another scourge prevailing here, against which human invention will never find a remedy. Earthquakes, which in other countries are so rare, that whole generations frequently succeed each other without beholding one, are so common in Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a series of epochs, so much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminish their violence.

This phenomenon, which is very irregular, in its sudden returns, is, however, announced by very perceptible omens. When the shock is considerable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noise of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that suddenly bursts and discharges its waters. This noise seems to be the effect of a vibration in the air, which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then observed to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings serve them any longer as oars and helm to swim in the fluid of the skies. They dash themselves in pieces against the

walls, the trees, and rocks; whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuses them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their strength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, the cavities and deep recesses of which re-echo each other's noises. The dogs answer these previous tokens of a general disorder of nature, by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals start, and, by a natural instinct, spread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon these indications, the inhabitants instantly run out of their houses, and fly to searoh, in the inclosures of public places, or in the fields, an asylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the sudden darkness of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity, which subverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is distressed and confounded, and loses, in the contemplation of this disorder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

The diversity of aspects under which volcanoes have presented themselves to one of our most indefatigable and intelligent observers, hath pointed out to him different periods, separated from each other by intervals of time so considerable, that the first formation of our planet is thrown back by them to a degree of antiquity at which our imagination is startled. At the first of these periods, the volcanoes throw out from their summits fire, smoke, and ashes, and pour out torrents of lava from their sides that are laid open. At the second, they are all of them extinguished, and exhibit nothing but an immense caldron. At the third, the air, the rain, the wind, the cold, and the lime, have destroyed the caldron, or crater, and nothing but a hillock remains. At the fourth period, this hillock, deprived of its covering, discovers a kind of nidus, which, being destroyed by time, leaves nothing but the place where the mountain and volcano have existed; and this state constitutes a fifth period. From the centre of this place causeways of lava are ex-

tended to a distance ; and these caufeways, whether entire or broken, or reduced into separate fragments, are still as many other periods, between each of which we may insert as many years, as many ages, or as many thousands of ages as we choofe. One thing, however, is certain, that one of these periods, whichever of them we choofe, is not connected, in the memory of man, with that which fucceeds it in the courfe of nature. The principle, therefore, that from nothing nothing can be produced ; and the deftruction of beings, which, by being changed into others, fhew us that nothing is annihilated, feem to announce an eternity which hath preceded, an eternity which will follow, and the co-exiftence of the Great Architect with his wonderful work.

The climate exhibits fome very remarkable fingularities in the Upper Peru. The inhabitants experience on the fame day, fometimes in the fame hour, and always in a very fhort fpace of time, the temperature of the two oppofite zones. Thofe who came there from the valleys, are pierced on their arrival with fevere cold, which they cannot get the better of either by fire, by motion, or by adding to their clothing ; but the impreffion of which ceafes to be difagreeable, after a refidence of a month or three weeks. The voyagers who come there for the firft time, are tormented with the fymptoms of fea ficknefs, with more or lefs violence, in proportion as they have fuffered from it on the ocean. But, whatever may be the reafon of it, men are not expofed to this accident in all parts ; for not one of the aftronomers who meafured the figure of the earth upon the mountains of Quito, were attacked with it.

Our aftonifhment is equally, if not more, excited in the valleys. This country, though very near the equator, enjoys a delicious temperature. The four feafons of the year are evidently marked, and yet neither of them can be called troublefome. The winter feafon is the moft fenfibly felt. This hath been attempted to be accounted for from the winds of the fouth pole, which carry the effects of the fnows and ice over which they have paffed. They preferve it only in part, becaufe

they blow under the influence of a thick fog, which at that time covers the earth. These gross vapours do not indeed rise regularly till about noon; but it is seldom they are dissipated. The sun generally remains so much clouded, that its rays, which sometimes make their appearance, can only mitigate the cold in a very slight degree.

Whatever may be the cause of so constant a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that it never rains, or that it rains only every two or three years in the Lower Peru.

Natural philosophy hath exerted its efforts to discover the cause of a phenomenon so extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the south-west wind, which prevails there the greatest part of the year; and to the prodigious height of the mountains, the summit of which is covered with eternal ice?

The country situated between both, being continually cooled on one side, and continually heated on the other, maintains so equal a temperature, that the clouds which rise can never be condensed so far as to be dissolved into water.

Rains, however, and even daily rains, would be necessary to communicate some degree of fertility to the coasts which extended from Tumbez to Lima, that is, throughout a space of two hundred and sixty-four leagues. The lands are in general so barren, that there is not a single herb to be seen, except in parts which it is possible to water, and these do not often occur. There is not a single spring throughout the whole of Lower Peru; rivers are not frequent there; and those which we do meet with have, for the most part, water in them only for six or seven months in the year. They are torrents issuing from the lakes, of greater or less magnitude, that are formed in the Cordelciras, which only flow over a small space, and are dried up during the summer. In the times of the Incas, these precious waters were carefully collected, and, by the assistance of several canals, dispersed over a large surface, which they fertilized. The Spaniards have availed themselves of these labours.

Their villages and towns have been erected on the places where the huts for the Indians were, which, perhaps for this reason, were less numerous in the Lower Peru than on the mountains. The valleys which lead from the capital of the empire to Chili, have a great resemblance with those we have spoken of: but they are in some places more susceptible of cultivation.

NOTWITHSTANDING these defects of natural organization, the region we have been describing hath seen a flourishing empire arise in the midst of it. Its population cannot reasonably be called in question, when we behold self-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the astonishing number of men engaged in the service of government, and deriving their subsistence from the state. Such a variety of hands and levers employed in moving the political machine, necessarily imply a considerable degree of population, that may be enabled to maintain, with the productions of the earth, a very numerous class of the inhabitants, who are not themselves concerned in agriculture.

By what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now such a desert? By tracing things to their origin, we find that those who conquered the coast of the South sea, being rustians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of Mexico. The mother-country was a longer time before she checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by those long and cruel civil wars that succeeded the conquest. A more heavy and regular system of oppression was afterwards established than had prevailed in other countries of the New World less distant from Europe.

Universal discouragement was the necessary consequence of this abominable conduct. Accordingly, the natives of the country grew disgusted of the state of society, and

The few Peruvians who have escaped the sword or tyranny of the conquerors, are fallen into the most degraded and brutal state.

of the fatigues it brings along with it. They continue in the same disagreeable dispositions, and would not even give themselves the least trouble to cultivate subsistence for themselves, were they not compelled to it by the government. This compulsion influences their behaviour. All the inhabitants of one community, men, women, and children, unite themselves to till and sow a field. These labours, which are interrupted every instant by dancing and feasting, are carried on by the sound of various instruments. The harvest of the maize, and of the other grain, is gathered with the same carelessness, and accompanied with the same pleasures. These people are not more anxious to procure themselves clothes. In vain hath it been attempted to inspire them with better dispositions, and more suitable to the good of the empire. Authority hath been unavailing against customs which its tyranny had given raise to, and which were kept up by its injustice.

The Peruvians, all of them without exception, are an instance of that profound stupidity into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery hath taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which nature hath scattered at their feet, do not tempt them; and they are even insensible to honours. They are whatever one chooses, without any ill humour, or choice, vassals or caciques, or *mitayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. The spring of all their passions is broken. That of fear itself hath often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

The void that had been made in the population of Peru, and the indolence of the few men that remained

there, determined the conquerors to introduce a foreign race; but this mode of substitution, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than useful to the country of the Incas. Avarice did not derive from these new slaves all the advantages it had flattered itself with. The government, ever intent on laying taxes upon vices and virtues, upon industry and idleness, upon good and bad projects, upon the liberty of exercising oppressions, and the permission of being exempted from them, made a monopoly of this base traffic. It was necessary to receive the negroes from the hands of a rival or an enemy, to carry them to the place of their destination, through immense seas and unwholesome climates, and to defray the expences of several very dear markets. Nevertheless, this species of men hath multiplied more at Peru than at Mexico. There is also a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reasons:

At the time when the first conquests were made, when emigrations were most frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain; and, in reality, for half a century, much more considerable treasures were brought away from it. The desire of partaking of them must necessarily draw thither, as was really the case, a greater number of Castilians. Though they almost all went over there with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them settled in the colony. They were induced to this by the softness of the climate, and the goodness of the provisions. They also supposed they should enjoy a great share of independence in a region so remote from the mother-country.

We must now examine to what *Present state* degree of prosperity Peru hath been *of Peru.* raised by the united labours of so many different people.

The immense coast that extends from Panama to Tombez, and which, in 1718, was detached from Peru to be

incorporated in the New Kingdom, is one of the most miserable regions of the globe. A great part of it is occupied by spacious and numerous morasses. The part that is not covered with these is deluged for six months in the year with rains that fall down in torrents. From the midst of these stagnating and unwholesome waters forests arise, that are as ancient as the world, and so much choked up with *lianes*, or osiers, that the strongest and most intrepid man cannot penetrate into them. Thick and frequent fogs throw a dark veil over these hideous countries. None of the productions of the old hemisphere can grow in this ungrateful soil, and those even of the new hemisphere do not thrive much. And, indeed, there is but a small number of savages to be seen here, and those for the most part wandering; and so few Spaniards, that it might almost be said there were none. The coast is fortunately terminated by the gulf of Guayaquil, where nature is in a less degenerate state.

The second town which the Spaniards built in Peru was raised upon this river, in 1533. The Indians did not long suffer this monument, erected against their liberty, to subsist; but it was rebuilt four years after by Orellana. It was not placed in the bay of Charopte as it had been at first. The back of a mountain, at the distance of five or six hundred toises from the river, was preferred. The exigencies of commerce afterwards determined the merchants to fix their dwellings upon the side of the river itself. The space which separated them from their former habitation hath been gradually filled up; so that at present the two quarters of the town are entirely united. The houses are in general built of wood, both in the lower and in the upper town. Formerly they were all covered with thatch; but this practice hath been abolished gradually by the orders of government, who have thought this regulation necessary, to prevent the accidents of fire, so common in these countries. Guayaquil was lately an entirely open place. It is at present defended by three forts, guarded only by the inhabitants. These are large beams disposed in palisades. Upon this

soil, which is always damp, and under water a great part of the year, a sort of wood, which never rots, is preferable to the best constructed works either in earth or in stone.

It is a circumstance well known at present, that, on the coast of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatimala, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea. It is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways. Some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell; they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife; and, separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be dyed is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

Those who do not choose this method, draw the animal partly out of its shell, and by pressure oblige it to discharge its liquor. This operation is repeated four different times, but at each time with less advantage. If it be continued, the animal dies, from the loss of that fluid which was the principle of its life, and which it hath no longer the power to renew.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency. It succeeds better with cotton, than with woolles, linen, or silk.

It is little more than an object of curiosity; but Guayaquil supplies the neighbouring provinces with wine, hides, salt, and fish. It furnishes a great quantity of cacao to Mexico and to Europe. It is the universal dock-yard of the South sea, and might partly become that of the mother-country. We know of no spot upon the earth more abundant in wood for masts, and for ship-

building. The hemp and the pitch, which it is deficient of, is procured from Chili and from Guatimala.

This town is the necessary asyle of all the trade which the Lower Peru, Panama, and Mexico, keep up with the country of Quito. All the commodities which these countries exchange pass through the hands of its merchants. The largest of the ships stop at the island of Puna, six or seven leagues distant from the place. The others can go thirty-five leagues up the river, as far as Callacut.

Notwithstanding these several means of prosperity, Guayaquil, the population of which consists of twenty thousand souls, is far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have been successively destroyed nine times, by fires, and by pirates, who have twice sacked the town. Those fortunes which have been acquired since these fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains incessant for six months; where dangerous and noisome insects do not allow any tranquillity; where distempers, prevailing in the most opposite degrees of temperature, appear to be united; where one lives in perpetual dread of losing one's sight: such a climate is by no means proper, to fix the residence of its inhabitants. Such persons are only seen here as have not acquired sufficient wealth to enable them to remove elsewhere, and spend their days in indolence and pleasure.

On quitting the territory of Guayaquil, we enter into the valleys of Peru. They occupy four hundred leagues of the coast; and upon this extent there are a great number of bad harbours, among which chance hath placed one or two that are tolerably good. Throughout this vast space, there is not the vestige of a single road, and it is necessary to travel over it upon mules in the night-time, because the reverberation of the sun renders these sands impassible in the day. At the intervals of thirty or forty leagues, we find the small towns of Piura, of Peyta, of Santa, of Pisco, of Nasca, of Ica, of Moquegua, and of Arica; and in the intermediate space a small number of hamlets and villages. Throughout this whole

extent there are but three places worthy of being called towns; Truxillo, which hath nine thousand inhabitants; Arequipa, which hath forty thousand; and Lima, which hath fifty-four thousand. These several settlements have been formed wherever there was the least appearance of land fit for cultivation, and wherever the waters were capable of fertilizing a slime naturally barren.

The country produces the fruits peculiar to the climate, and most of those in Europe. The culture of maize, of pimento, and of cotton, which was found established there, was not neglected: and that of wheat, barley, cassava, potatoes, sugar, and of the olive and vine, was set on foot there. The goat hath thriven very well; but the sheep have degenerated, and their wool is extremely coarse. Throughout the whole of the valleys there is but one mine, which is that of Huantajala.

In the Upper Peru, at the distance of one hundred and twenty leagues from the sea, stands Cusco, built by the first of the Incas, on a very uneven territory, and upon the declivity of several hills. It was at first only a small village, which in process of time became a considerable city, divided into as many quarters as there were nations incorporated with the empire. Each of these nations were allowed to follow their ancient customs; but they were all of them obliged to worship the brilliant constellation that fertilizes the globe. There was no edifice that had any grandeur, elegance, or convenience, because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. Even the temple of the sun itself could not be distinguished from the other public or private buildings, unless by its extent, and by the profusion of metals with which it was ornamented.

To the north of this capital was a kind of citadel, built with much care, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long spoke of this monument of Peruvian industry with a spirit of admiration that imposed upon all Europe. The ruins of this fortress have been seen by enlightened persons, and the marvellous hath disappeared. It hath been found, that this fortification had scarce any advantage over the other works of the same kind erected in the

country, except that of being built with stones of a more considerable size.

At the distance of four leagues from the city are the country-houses of the great, and of the Incas, in the wholesome and delicious valley of Yucal. There it was that they went to recover their health, or to relax from the fatigues of government.

After the conquest, the place scarce preserved any thing but its name. There were other edifices, other inhabitants, other occupations, other manners, other prejudices, and another religion. Thus the fatality which subverts the earth, the sea, empires, and nations; which throws successively upon all parts of the globe the light of the arts and the darkness of ignorance; which changes the residence of men, and transfers their opinions from one place to another, as marine productions are pushed upon the coast by the impulse of the winds and the currents: that impenetrable and singular destiny, I say, ordained that Europeans, with all the appendages of their crimes, and monks, with all the prejudices of their faith, should come to reign and repose in those walls, where the virtuous Incas had for so long a time promoted the felicity of mankind, and where the sun was so solemnly adored. Who, therefore, can foresee what kind of race, or form of worship, will one day arise upon the ruins of our kingdoms and our altars? Cusco reckons twenty-six thousand inhabitants under its new masters.

In the midst of these mountains other towns are still to be seen. Cuzupisaca, or La Plata, which hath thirteen thousand souls; Potosi, twenty-five thousand; Ortopesa, seventeen thousand; La Paz, twenty thousand; Guancavelica, eight thousand; and Huamanga, eighteen thousand five hundred.

But let it be well observed, that none of these towns were erected in regions which presented a fertile soil, copious harvests, excellent pastures, a mild and salubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. These places, which had hitherto been so well cultivated by a numerous and flourishing people, were now totally disregarded. Very soon they exhibited only a deplorable

picture of a horrid desert; and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The sight of confusion is not always displeasing; it sometimes astonishes: that of destruction affects us. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory, and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold, that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

This insatiable thirst of gold, which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have decayed, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all hath corresponded with the discovery, progress, or decay of the mines to which they were subordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived scarcely on any thing else but maize, fruits, and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the *chicha* was the most usual; it is made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour, after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and must not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when used immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than seven or eight days without turning sour. Its taste is nearly that of the most indifferent kind of cyder.

All the cultivations established in the empire, were solely intended to supply articles of primary necessity. The only thing cultivated for luxury was the coca; this is a shrub which ramifies much, and seldom grows higher

than three or four feet. Its leaves are alternate, oval, entire, and marked in their longitudinal direction with three costs, two of which are not very apparent. The flowers collected in clusters along the stems, are small, composed of a calix, with five divisions, and five petals, furnished at their base with a scale. The pistil, surrounded with ten stamina, and surmounted with three styles, is changed into a small, reddish, oblong berry, which as it dries becomes triangular, and contains one nut filled with a single kernel.

The leaf of the coca was the delight of the Peruvians. They chewed it, after having mixed it with an earth of a light grey colour, and of a saponaceous quality, which they called *soura*; it was, in their opinion, one of the most salutary restoratives they could take. Their taste for the coca hath so little altered, that, if those among them who are buried in the mines were to be deprived of it, they would cease to work, whatever severities might be employed to compel them to it.

The conquerors were not satisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had subdued. They naturalized freely, and with success, all the corn, all the fruits, and all the quadrupeds of the ancient hemisphere, in the new one. The mother country, which had proposed to supply its colonies with wine, oil, and brandy, wished, at first, to forbid the culture of the vine, and of the olive tree; but it was soon found, that it would be impossible to convey regularly to Peru articles liable to so many accidents, and of so considerable a bulk; and they were permitted to multiply them there as much as was consistent with the climate and their wants.

After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of subsistence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dress more commodious and more agreeable than that of the Peruvians. These were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this superiority to the advantage which they alone possessed, of having the llama and the paca, domestic animals, which serve them for this use.

The lama is an animal four feet high, and five or six in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long snout, and thick lips. Its mouth hath no incisors in the upper jaw. Its feet

*Singularities
respecting the
lama, the paco,
the guanaco, and
the vicuna.*

are cloven like those of the ox, but furnished with a spur behind, which enables it to fasten itself on the sides of steep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is short on its back, but grows long on its sides and under the belly, constitutes part of its usefulness. Though very salacious, these animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostitutes herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the desire of nature. Thus several of our domestic animals, that are confined, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose, through ineffectual efforts, the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention do not supply the place of that liberty of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of a short duration. At three years old it propagates its species, preserves its vigour till twelve, then decays, and dies about the age of fifteen.

The lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about a hundred weight. They move with a slow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals, descending through gulleys, and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they rest of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

Nature hath formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild, regular, and phlegmatic, like the Peruvians. When they stop, they bend

their knees and stoop their body in such a manner as not to discompose their burden. As soon as they hear their driver whistle, they rise with the swiftest and proceed on their journey. They browse on the grass they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when asleep, reclining on their backs, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither disabled by fasting nor drouth, while they have any strength remaining; but when they are totally exhausted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpose to harass and beat them: they will continue obstinately striking their heads against the ground, till they kill themselves. They never defend themselves either with their feet or their teeth; and in the height of their indignation content themselves with only spitting in the face of those who insult them.

The pacos is to the lama what the ass is to the horse; a subordinate species, smaller in size, with shorter legs, and a flat snout; but of the same disposition, the same manners, and the same constitution, as the lama; made, like the lama, to carry burdens, but more obstinate in its caprices, perhaps because it is weaker.

These animals are so much the more useful to man, as their service costs him nothing. Their thick fur supports the place of a pack-saddle. The little grass which they find along the road suffices for their food, and furnishes them with a pleasurable and fresh saliva, which exempts them from the necessity of drinking.

In the houses of the Incas, the people shewed a great attachment to these useful animals, and this spirit of benevolence hath been continued. Before they are employed in the labours for which they are adapted, the Peruvians assemble their relations, friends, and neighbours. As soon as the company are met, dancing and festivals begin, which last two days and two nights. From time to time the guests pay a visit to the lama, and the pacos, speak to them in the most affectionate terms, and bestow upon them all the caresses they would upon the person that was most dear to them. They then begin to make use of them, but do not strip them of the bands and bands with which their heads are ornamented.

Among the lamas, there are some of a wild species called guanaco, which are stronger, more sprightly, and more nimble, than the domestic lamas; running like the stag, and climbing like the wild goat, covered with short wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds, to the number sometimes of two or three hundred. If they see a man, they survey him at first with an air of greater astonishment than curiosity; then snuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the summit of the mountains. These animals seek the North, travel on the ice, and fix themselves above the height of the snow; they are vigorous, and appear in vast numbers on the tops of the Cordelinas, but small in size, and seldom met with at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

The vicunas, a species of wild pacos, delight still more in the cold, and on the summits of mountains. They are so timid, that their fear itself makes them an easy prey to the hunter. Men surround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have suspended pieces of cloth or linen, on cords, that are raised three or four feet from the ground. These rags, being agitated by the wind, strike such terror into them, that they stand crowded and squeezed one against another, suffering themselves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be, among the vicunas, a guanaco, which, being more adventurous, leaps over the cords, they follow it and escape.

All these animals belong so peculiarly to South America, and especially to the highest Cordelinas, that they are never seen on the side of Mexico, where the height of these mountains is considerably diminished. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all failed. The Spaniards, without reflecting that these animals, even in Peru itself, sought the coldest parts, have transported them to the burning plains of Andalusia. They might possibly have succeeded on the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture

time of the Buffon, to what we may impute the many useful and profitable observations on animals, is worthy the attention of travellers, who should always be guided by the light of philosophy. From the flesh of the joint and joints may be made when they are young. The skins of the old ones serve the Indians for shoes, and the skins of the young for garments. The Indians also use the skins of the young for shoes, and the skins of the young for garments. The skins of the young are only sought after for their skins, and for the skins they produce.

The wool of these animals is much employed in the of the same kind the wool, which is made of the animals is much inferior to that of the goats, and still more so than that of the vicuña. It has in some a great difference in the same animals. The wool of the back is commonly of a rusty, light colour, and of moderate quality; under the belly is white and fine, and white and coarse upon the thighs. The price in Spain is from four to six livres from 30 to 40 to 45 to 50 a pound, according to the quality.

These fleeces were chiefly employed at Rome, before the empire had submitted to a foreign yoke. The inhabitants of Cuzco made tapestry of them for the use of the court. This tapestry was ornamented with flowers, birds, and trees, which were tolerably well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It was customary to stick them up in order to have the sun dry. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps; their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented at the top with emeralds; and the common people with abrams. In hot countries, the mantles of persons in office were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people in the same climate had no clothing at all, except a girdle that was composed of the skin made of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts which nature intended should be concealed.

The mode and the habits of the conquerors, which generally made inconvenient or contemptible to them all the customs established in the countries upon which

their numbers their industry exerted, would not allow them to adopt the dress of the Europeans. They required from Europe every thing that luxury could furnish most complete and most magnificent in dress and ornaments. In process of time, the treasures that had been at first pillaged, were exhausted; and it was not possible to acquire more, without making considerable advances, and without entering upon labours, the profits of which were doubtful. Then these extravagancies diminished. The ancient manufactures of cotton, which a system of oppression had reduced almost to nothing, were revived. Others were set on foot of a different kind; and their number hath successively increased.

With the wool of the vicuna they make, in several provinces, stockings, handkerchiefs, and scarfs. This wool, mixed with that of the sheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, serves for carpets, and makes also tolerably good cloth. This last kind alone is employed to make serge and other coarse stuffs.

The manufactures subservient to luxury are established at Arequipa, Cusco, and Lima. From these three large towns come all the jewels and diamonds, all the plate for the use of private persons, and also for the churches. These manufactures are but coarsely wrought; and mixed with a great deal of copper. There is seldom more taste or perfection discovered in their gold, silver, and other laces and embroideries, which their manufactures also produce.

Other hands are employed in gilding leather, in making, with wood and ivory, pieces of inlaid work and sculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that hath been lately found at Quana, or on linen imported from the old hemisphere. These productions of imperfect art serve for ornaments for houses, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not absolutely bad; but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. This species of industry belongs almost exclusively to the Indians settled at Cusco, who are less oppressed, and less degenerated upon the first years of their glory, than throughout the

refuse the empire. If the In-Americans, to whom he had both denied the name of emperor, had been so much less ambitious, had been supplied with ships and cannon, and excellent manufactures, as he is to be imagined happy that. At the close of the last century, some vessels of the British nation, under the command of Sir John, were brought to Lima; and the insignificant and ignorant manner of giving intelligence to the king's council was a.

These descriptions excite the imagination of the reader, my country, and say, how many are the nations in these idle details, with which you have troubled me so long? Speak to me of the gold and silver of Peru. Is this so distant region of the New World? How outward situated, and shall I ever consider any thing but a distant world? Whether thou mayest be the best and best of my fellow-men in this manner, or otherwise, and the matter of taste, who, when conveyed to Mexico and Peru, would be so much as study the manners, nor the customs? Who would be so much as look upon the rivers, the mountains, the forests, the fields, the diversity of climates, and the varieties of soil and culture; but who would be so much as, where are the golden mines? where are the places in which the gold is wrought? If so that thou hast entered upon the reading of my work with the same spirit as the Europeans entered upon these rich and unhappy countries; I see that thou wert worthy to accompany them, because thy propensities are the same as theirs. Descend then into the mines, and meet with thy destruction by the side of those who work them for thee; and if thou dost come near of them again, make thyself at least acquainted with the criminal force of these treasures which thou dost covet, and mayest thou never possess them hereafter without feeling the pangs of remorse! May the gold change its colour, and appear to thine eyes as if it were dyed with blood.

*Description of
the mines of
Peru.*

In the country of the Incas, we found mines of copper, iron, sulphur, and bitumen, which are generally neglected. Extreme necessity hath oc-

a considerable quantity of small black sand, which is as strongly attracted by the loadstone as the best iron, but which is indissoluble in acids, and whence he separated without great difficulty, and easily, particles of very fine gold are sometimes observed in it.

This mixture, which is almost always found of the native platinum with gold and with iron and magnetic sand, is a piece that is might be nothing more than a combination of these two metals; and accordingly, on melting together gold and iron, or rather gold and magnetic sand, similar to that which is found mixed with the platinum, a combination is obtained, which hath some apparent affinity with this metallic substance; but a more strict examination seems to have destroyed this opinion; and the experiments of M. M. Macquer and Berthollet, and particularly those of M. le Baron de Sickenberg, appear to have shown that the platinum is a peculiar kind of metal, which is not formed by the union of any other, and which hath properties belonging to itself.

The little information which chemists have hitherto obtained respecting the natural history of the platinum, and the small quantity they have had in their possession, hath not yet allowed them to apply the processes of analysis to it at large; but the methods they have given an account of, and particularly those for which we are indebted to the Baron de Sickenberg, are sufficient for chemical accuracy. Nothing remains now but to make them more simple and less expensive.

The first operation to be performed on the platinum consists in separating from it gold, the iron, and the magnetic sand, with which it is united. In order to do this, it is dissolved with the assistance of a little heat, in an aqua regia, composed nearly of equal parts of the nitrous and marine acid. The magnetic sand, which is indissoluble, remains at the bottom of the vessel used, by pouring off the liquor, a solution is obtained, which contains gold, iron, and platinum. To separate, in the first instance, the gold, a small portion of the vitriolum martis is added to the solution. The gold immediately precipitates, while the platinum continues united to the solvent.

lastly; to get rid of the iron, some alkali, which hath been previously calcined with ox's blood, is poured gradually into the same liquor. The iron is instantly precipitated, under the colour of Prussian blue, and nothing more remains in the solution than the platina, perfectly pure, and combined with the aqua regia.

The platina being thus purified, the next business is to separate it from the solvent; and this is to be done by the addition of sal arseniac. This substance precipitates the platina under a yellow colour; and this precipitate being exposed to a great heat, softens, and even dissolves; and, by forging it with a hammer, the platina is obtained very pure and malleable. It appears from what we have been able to collect from the Baron de Sickingen's Memoir, which hath been communicated to the academy of sciences, but not yet published, that the rough platina, worked by itself and heated with an intense fire, becomes sufficiently soft to be forged and made into bars; and this circumstance naturally indicates the method to be pursued for the management of it in large works.

The metal obtained by these several processes is nearly of the same specific weight as gold; it is of an intermediate colour between that of iron and silver; it can be forged and extended into thin plates; it may also be worked into thread; but it is not near so ductile as gold; and the thread obtained from it is not, in equal diameter, able to support so great a weight without breaking. When dissolved in aqua regia, it may be made to assume, by precipitation, an infinite diversity of colours; and Count Milly hath succeeded in varying these precipitates so much, that he hath had a picture painted, in the colouring of which there is scarce any thing but platina made use of.

Gold is susceptible of combination with all the metals, and platina hath in like manner this property; but when too great a proportion of it enters into the combination, it renders the metal brittle. When alloyed with yellow copper, it forms a hard and compact metal, which will take the finest polish, which will not tarnish in the air.

and which would consequently be very fit for making the mirrors of telescopes.

It hath not appear'd that mercury hath any effect upon platina; and therefore Mr. Lewis had propos'd to amalgamate it with mercury, as a proper method of separating it from the gold with which it might have been united; but this method hath been considered by modern chemists as uncertain and defective; and there are others at present more to be depended upon: such are these we have been mentioning at the commencement of this article.

This new metal displays some properties infinitely interesting to society. It cannot be affected by any simple acid, nor by any known solvent, except the aqua regia; it will not tarnish in the air, neither will it rust; it unites to the fixedness of gold, and to the property it hath of not being susceptible of destruction, a hardness almost equal to that of iron, and a much greater difficulty of fusion. In a word, from considering the advantages of the platina, we cannot but conclude, that this metal deserves, at least, from its superiority to all others, to share the title of king of the metals, of which gold hath so long been in possession.

It were undoubtedly to be wish'd that a metal so precious might become common, and that it might be employed for culinary utensils, in the arts, and in the laboratory of the chemist. It would unite all the advantages of vessels of glass, of porcelain, and of stoneware, without partaking of their fragility. A prejudice of the Spanish ministry, and which hath for a long time been adopted by all chemists, deprives us of this advantage. They have persuaded themselves that the platina might be alloyed with gold in such a manner as that it could not be separated from it by any means, and they have consequently thought proper to forbid the extraction and transportation of a substance that might be productive of so much mischief in the hands of avaricious men. But at present, that we are acquainted with methods as simple and easy to separate gold from platina as to separate silver from gold; at present, that the chemists have taught us, that, when these two metals are

dissolved in aqua regia, we may precipitate the gold by the addition of the vitrolum martis, or the platina by the addition of sal ammoniac, and that in both these cases the two metals are perfectly distinct; at present, in a word, that the rulers of nation can easily obtain information by consulting the academicians, it cannot be doubted but that the Spanish government will hasten to avail itself of a treasure of which it seems hitherto to have been the only possessor, and of which so advantageous a use may be made for the nation and for society in general.

Nature hath not formed any mines of gold or silver in what are called the Valléys of Peru, except one. The large masses of these precious metals which we sometimes find there, have been conveyed by subterraneous fires, by volcanoes, and by earthquakes, as well as by the revolutions which America hath experienced, and doth still experience every day. These detached masses are sometimes found in other parts. About the year 1730, a piece of gold, weighing ninety marks, was found near the town of La Paz. It was a composition of six different species of this precious metal, from sixteen to three-and-twenty carats and a half. There are but few ones, and those of base alloy, in the halloca, bordering upon the sea. It is only in very cold or very high places that they are rich and frequent.

Though the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the use of gold and silver, of which they made toys and even vases. The torrents and rivers furnished them with the first of these metals; but, in order to obtain the second, more labour and industry was necessary. Most frequently the ground was opened, yet never to so great a depth but that the workmen themselves could throw the ore on the borders of the ditch which they had digged, or could at least convey it there by passing it on from one person to another. Sometimes the sides of the mountains were opened, and the different veins which chance might present were followed, though always to very small extent. The two metals were melted and disengaged from the foreign materials that might be mixed with them by the means of fire.

Furnaces, in which a current of air supplied the office of the bellows, an instrument entirely unknown in these countries, were employed to perform this difficult operation.

Pasco, at a little distance from the spot, where one of the lieutenants of Bizarro founded, in 1589, the city of La Plata. Pasco was, of all the mines which the Incas caused to be worked, the most plentiful and the most known. It was also the first which the Spaniards worked after the conquest; and their labour was soon extended to a multiplicity of others.

All of them, without exception, were found to be very expensive in the working. Nature hath placed them in regions destitute of water, wood, provisions, and all the necessaries of life, which must be conveyed at a great expence across immense deserts. These difficulties have been, and are still, surmounted with more or less success. Several mines, which have required some share of reputation, have been successively abandoned. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not sufficient to defray the expences necessary to obtain it: this is a kind of revolution which many of the rest will experience.

It hath also been necessary to renounce some of the mines which had given false hopes. Among this number was that of Ucantaya, discovered in 1593, sixty leagues to the south-east of Cusco. This was only an aggragation of almost massive silver, which at first yielded a considerable quantity, but was soon exhausted.

Some very rich mines have been neglected, because the waters had invaded them. The salubrity of the soil, which flows from the summit of the Cordilleras, runs constantly inclining to the South-sea; must necessarily have rendered these events more common at Peru than in other places. This mischief hath sometimes been found irreparable; at other times it hath been repaired; most frequently it hath been perpetuated, for want of means, activity, or skill.

The gold mines were at first probably attended to. Wise men soon determined in favour of the silver mines, which are generally more extensive, more equal, and,

consequently, less deceitful:—Several of the former, however, are still worked. A tolerably regular series of success hath made those of Lathaca, of Ascon, of Suches, of Caracava, of Lipoma, and of Cachabamba, to be considered as the richest.

Among the silver mines which, in our days, are the most celebrated, we must mention that of Huantajala, which hath been worked forty or fifty years ago, at two leagues distance from the sea, near the harbour of Iquayagua. Upon digging five or six feet in the plain, we often find detached masses, which at first might be taken only for a confused mixture of gravel and sand; and which, upon trial, yield two thirds of their weight in silver. Sometimes they are so considerable, that, in 1749, two of them were sent to the court of Spain, one of which weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds, and the other three hundred and seventy. In the mountains, the ore is disposed in veins, and is of two kinds. That which is the common is called *barro*, is cut with the rock, and is sent to Lima, where it is wrought. It yields most frequently from one, two, three, four, and at far five parts of silver, to one of *barro*. The other species is purified by fire, in the country itself; and if it be not quite pure, it produces a mark of silver, it is shown among the rubbish. This neglect arises from the want of care of provisions, from the necessity of obtaining water for drinking fourteen leagues off, and from that of grinding the ore at a very considerable distance.

At thirty leagues to the north east of Ataquipa stands Caylloma. Its mines were discovered very early; they have been since incessantly worked, and their produce is still the same. Those of Putosi were discovered in 1549. An Indian, named Huatpa, as it is said, pursuing some deer, in order to climb certain steep rocks, laid hold of a bush, the roots of which being fastened from the earth, brought to view an ingot of silver. The Peruvian had recourse to it for his own use, and never failed to return to his treasure every time that his wants or his desires solicited him to it. The change that had happened in his sit-

was remarked by his countryman Guançá, to whom he avowed the secret. The two friends could not keep their counsel, and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; and the indiscreet confidant discovered the whole to his master Villaroell, a Spaniard who was settled in the neighbourhood.

This discovery soon influenced the minds of the Spaniards. Several mines were immediately opened in a mountain of a conical form, which is one league in circumference; five or six toises in height; and is of a dark red colour. In process of time, a less considerable mountain, issuing from the former, was also searched; and with equal success. The treasures that were derived from each of these mountains, were the origin of one of the richest and most opulent states in the New World.

Nature never offered to the avidity of mankind, in any country on the globe, such rich mines as those of Potosí. Exclusive of what was not registered, and was smuggled away, the fifth part, belonging to the government, from 1545 to 1564, amounted to 36,450,000 livres [2,518,075*l.*] *per annum*. But this abundance of metals soon decreased. From 1564 to 1585, the annual fifth part amounted to no more than 15,187,483 livres 4 sols [622,812*l.* 1*s.*] From 1585 to 1624, it amounted to 12,229,994 livres 12 sols [506,249*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*] From 1624 to 1633, to 6,074,997 livres 6 sols [233,124*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*] From this last period, the produce of these mines hath so evidently decreased, that, in 1763, the fifth part, belonging to the king, did not exceed 1,964,682 livres 12 sols [56,861*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*]

In the first instance, each quintal of ore yielded fifty pounds of silver. At present, fifty quintals do not produce more than two pounds of silver. This is one part instead of twelve hundred and fifty.

If this diminution should be carried on a little farther, this source of riches must necessarily be given up: It is even probable, that this event would already have taken place; if the ore were not so soft at Potosí, if the waters were not so favourably situated for grinding it, and if

the expences were not infinitely less than at any other place.

But while the mines of Potosi were gradually losing their celebrity, those of Oruro, not far distant from them, were rising into great reputation. Their prosperity was even increasing, when the waters flowed into the richest of them. At the period in which we are writing, it hath not yet been possible to drain them, and all these treasures still remain under water. The mines of Potosi, the most considerable of those that have escaped this great disaster, are no more than twelve leagues distant from the town of San Philip de Austria de Oruro, which was built in this district, formerly so celebrated.

The labours of the miners, settled to the east of La Plata, in the district of Carangas, were never disturbed by any accident; those, however, whom chance had brought to Turco were constantly the most fortunate, because this mountain always afforded them an ore incorporated, or, as it were, melted with the stone, and consequently richer than all the rest.

In the diocese of La Paz, and near to the small town of Puna, Joseph Salcedo discovered, about the year 1660, the mine of Laycaota. It was so rich, that the silver of it was often cut with a chisel. Prosperity, which debases little minds, had so elevated that of the proprietor of so much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to seek their fortune in this part of the New World, to work some days for their own benefit, without weighing or measuring the profit he made them. This generosity attracted an infinite number of adventurers, whose avidity induced them to take up arms. They attacked each other; and their benefactor, who had neglected nothing that might prevent or diminish their sanguinary contentions, was charged as being the author of them. Such incidents might be sufficient to lessen in our hearts the inclination to benevolence; and it is with reluctance I have mentioned this.

While Salcedo was in prison, the water got possession of his mine. Superstition soon gave birth to the idea, that this was a punishment for the outrage committed

against him. This idea of divine vengeance was for a long time revered; but at length, in 1740, Diego de Barco, and some other enterprising men, associated themselves, in order to turn away the springs which had deluged so much treasure. In 1834, the work was so far advanced, that some utility was already derived from it. We know not what hath happened since that period.

All the mines of Peru were originally worked by means of fire. In most of them, mercury was substituted to this in 1595.

This powerful agent is found in two different states in the bosom of the earth. If it be altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, it is then denominated virgin mercury, because it hath not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine. If it be found combined with sulphur, it forms a substance of a red colour, which is more or less vivid, called cinnabar.

Till the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately discovered at Montpelier under the buildings of the town itself, and which for that reason will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except those of Udria in Carniola. These are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliae*. They were discovered by chance in 1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The descent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which some are so low, that it is necessary to stoop, in order to pass along; and there are places where it is so hot, that it is not possible to stop without being in a profuse sweat; it is in these subterraneous caverns that mercury is found, in a kind of clay, or in stones. Sometimes even this substance is seen running down like rain, and goes so copiously through the rocks, which form the walls of these subterraneous passages, that one was hath often gathered thirty-six pounds of it in a day.

There are some people so fond of the marvellous, that

they prefer this mercury to the other; which is a great prejudice. Experience shows, that the best mercury that can be used, either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinabar. In order to separate the natural combination of these two volatile substances, sulphur and mercury, recourse must necessarily be had to the action of fire, to which some intermediate substance must be joined. This is either the filings of steel or copper; or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or some fixed alkaline salt. Europe is supplied with this last species of mercury from Hungary, Solavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy. The quantity that Spain wants for Mexico comes from the mine of Almaden, which was famous even in the time of the Romans: but Peru hath found within itself, at Guanaca-Velica, a sufficient quantity for all its emergencies.

This ore, as it is said, was known to the ancient Peruvians, who made an other use of it than to paint their faces. It was forgotten during the confusion into which the conquest plunged this unfortunate region. It was found again in 1536, according to some historians, and in 1564, according to others; but Pedro Fernandez Velasco was the first who, in 1574, thought of employing it in working the other mines: the government reserved to itself the property of it. They even forbade, upon any pretence whatsoever, that other mines of the same kind should be opened, lest they should be defrauded of the outlet they laid upon mercury.

The mine of Guanaca-Velica hath undergone several changes. At the time in which we are writing, its circumference measures one hundred and eighty varas, its diameter sixty, and its depth five hundred and thirtecn. It hath four openings, all of them at the top of the mountain, a small number of buttresses, destined to support the soil, and three vent-holes, which either let in air, or serve to carry off the water. It is worked by some partners, most of them without fortune, to whom the sovereign advances whatever they want, and who deliver the mercury to him at the stipulated price. The men employed

in these labours were generally seized, feebly, with convulsive motions. This malady is at present much less frequent, whether it be, that the mercury contained in the mine hath lessened by more than one-half, or that some precautions have been taken, which had at first been neglected. Those who have the care of the furnaces, are at present almost the only persons who are exposed to this calamity: they are, however, easily cured. The only thing necessary is to food them into a warm climate, or to employ them in cultivating the lands. The encreasy, which affected their limbs, is carried off by perspiration.

The barrenness of Guaya-Velica, and of the neighbouring lands, is remarkable. No fruit tree can be naturalized there. Of all the species of corn that have been sown, barley is the only one that hath sprung up; and even that hath never come to maturity. Nothing but the potatoe has thrived.

The air is not more wholesome than the soil is fertile. Children, newly born, die of the tetanus still more frequently than in the rest of the New World. Those who have escaped this danger, are seized at the end of three or four months with a violent cough, and most of them perish in convulsions; unless care be taken to convey them into a milder climate. This precaution, which is necessary for the Indians and for the Mestees, is still more so for the Spaniards, who are less robust. The excessive severity of the climate, the sulphureous vapours which cover the horizon, and the generally vitiated constitution of the fathers and mothers, must be the principal causes of so great a calamity.

The very elevated mountains of Guaya-Velica had for a long time engaged the attention of men who are greedy of riches, when, at length, they became interesting to philosophers.

The astronomers who were sent in 1735 to Peru, in order to measure the degree of the meridian, travelled over a space of ninety leagues, beginning a little to the north of the equator, and proceeding as far as the south of the city of Cuenca, without discovering any mark

which could lead them to think that these mountains, which were the highest in the universe, had been ever covered by the ocean. The banks of shells that were found out some time after at Chili, did not prove the contrary, because they were upon eminences of no more than fifty toises. But since Guanca-Velica hath furnished recent and petrified shells, and both of them in very great quantity, it is necessary to retract; and give up all the consequences that had been deduced from this phenomenon.

It is not at Guanca-Velica that the mercury is delivered to the public. The government sends it to the provinces where the mines are. The places where it is deposited are twelve in number. In 1763, Guanca-Velica itself contained one hundred and forty-two quintals; Taiya, two hundred and forty-seven; Pacha, seven hundred and twenty-nine; Truxillo, one hundred and thirty-one; Cusco, thirteen; La Plata, three hundred and sixty-nine; La Paz, thirty; Caylloma, three hundred and seventy-four; Caranas, one hundred and fifty; Oruro, twelve hundred and sixty-four; and Potosi, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two. This made, on the whole, five thousand two hundred and forty-one quintals.

Although the quality of the ore determines the greater or less consumption of the mercury, yet it is generally thought in the other hemisphere, where the art of metallurgy is very imperfect, that, upon the whole, the consumption of mercury is equal to the quantity of silver obtained from the mines. In this supposition, the twelve magazines which, from 1732 to 1763, delivered, one year with another, five thousand three hundred and four quintals eighteen pounds of mercury, should have received the same quantity of silver. Nevertheless, they received no more than two thousand two hundred and fifty. Therefore, two thousand seven hundred and fifty-four quintals eighteen pounds were secreted, in order to defraud the customs.

Lima hath always attracted the great Subversion and
est part of these riches, whether they Re-building of
have escaped the vigilance of the treasury. Lima.

Manners of this or not. This capital, built in 1535 by *capital of Peru.* Francis Pizarro, and which hath since become so celebrated, is situated at two leagues from the sea, in a delicious plain. The prospect from it on the one side extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it stretches as far as the Cordelirias. Its soil is nothing but a heap of flints, which the sea hath undoubtedly in a series of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the surface, which the spring waters, that are everywhere found on digging, have brought from the mountains.

Sugar-canes, numberless olive trees, some vines, artificial meadows, pastures full of salt which give meat an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. Wheat and barley prospered there for a long time; but an earthquake happening about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. It was not till after forty years of barrenness, that the soil resumed its former fertility. Lima, as well as the other towns of the valleys, owes its subsistence chiefly to the labours of the negroes. It is scarce anywhere, except the inland parts, that the fields are cultivated by the Indians.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, all the edifices in Peru were constructed without any foundations. The walls of the houses of private persons, as well as those of the public buildings, were alike placed on the surface of the earth, of whatever materials they might be made. Experience had taught these people, that in the country they inhabited this was the only way of dwelling in security. Their conquerors, who had a sovereign contempt for every thing which deviated from their habits, and who carried everywhere along with them their European customs, without considering whether they were suitable to the countries they were invading; the conquerors departed, particularly at Lima, from the manner of building which they found generally established. Accordingly, when the natives of the country saw them open deep trenches, and make use of cement, they said that their tyrants were dig-

ging graves to bury themselves in; and, perhaps, it was some consolation to the wretchedness of the conquered to foresee, that the earth would one day take upon itself to avenge them of their destroyers.

The prediction hath been fulfilled. The capital of Peru, after having been partially subverted by eleven earthquakes, was at length totally destroyed by the twelfth. On the 28th of October 1746, at half an hour after ten at night, all, or almost all, the buildings, whether large or small, were thrown down in the space of three minutes. Thirteen hundred persons were crushed under the ruins. A much more considerable number were mutilated; and most of them expired in horrid torments.

Callao, which serves as a harbour to Lima, was likewise overthrown; but this was the least of its misfortunes. The sea, which had started back with horror at the instant of this dreadful catastrophe, soon returned to invade with its impetuous waves the space it had quitted. It swallowed up the few houses and fortifications that had escaped the former danger. Of the four thousand inhabitants that were computed to be in this celebrated port, there were only two hundred saved. It then contained three-and-twenty ships; nineteen of them were swallowed up, and the rest thrown very far in upon the land by the irritated ocean.

The ravage extended itself all over the coast. The few vessels there were in these bad harbours were shattered. The towns in the valleys sustained in general some damages; several of them even were totally subverted. Among the mountains, four or five volcanoes threw out such prodigious columns of water, that the whole country was deluged by them.

The minds of men, which had been for a long time in a state of lethargy, were roused by this fatal calamity; and it was Lima that first set the example of the change. The business was to clear away immense ruins heaped one upon another; and to get out prodigious treasures that were buried in these ruins. It was necessary to bring from Guayaquil, and from a still greater distance, every requisite for the construction of numberless edifices;

and with all these materials, collected from these different regions, to raise a city superior to that which had been destroyed. These miracles, which were not to be expected from an indolent and effeminate people, were performed with great rapidity. Necessity inspired them with activity, emulation, and industry. Lima, though, perhaps, less wealthy, is at present more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates presented to the view of the duke of Palata, the viceroy, on his entering, streets paved with silver. It is also built with greater solidity, and for the following reason:

The vanity of having palaces, concealed for a long time from the inhabitants of the capital of Peru the dangers to which this absurd ostentation exposed them. In vain had the earth swallowed up at different periods these enormous masses; the lesson was never powerful enough to correct them. The last catastrophe hath at length opened their eyes. They have yielded to necessity, and have at last followed the example of other Spaniards settled in the valleys.

The houses are at present very low, and have most of them no more than a ground-floor. For walls they have posts placed at different distances. The intervals are filled up with reeds, nearly similar to ours, but which have no cavity, which are very solid, which do not easily rot, and which are covered over with clay. These singular edifices are topped with a wooden roof entirely flat, and also covered with clay, a sufficient precaution in a climate where it never rains. The several parts of these buildings are fastened together, and to the foundations with a strong kind of osier, which in the country is called chaglar. With this kind of construction, the whole building readily yields to the motion communicated to it by the earthquakes. They may possibly be damaged by the convulsive motions of nature, but they cannot be easily thrown down.

These houses, however, are not deficient in appearance. The attention that is taken to paint the walls and cornices, so as to resemble free-stone, conceals the quality of the materials of which they are formed. They are even found to have an air of grandeur and solidity,

which it would not be natural to expect: The defect of construction is still more concealed in the inside of the houses, where all the ornaments are painted in a style of greater or less elegance. The ordinary method of construction hath been but a little deviated from in the public buildings. Several of them are raised to the height of ten feet, with bricks baked in the sun; some of the churches even are raised to the same height in stone. The rest of these monuments are in wood, painted or gilt, as well as the columns and statues which decorate them.

The streets of Lima are wide, parallel, and intersect each other at right angles. Its walls are continually washed and refreshed with waters brought from the river of Rimac. The water that is not employed in this salutary purpose, is advantageously distributed for the convenience of the citizens, for the use of the gardens, and for fertilizing the fields.

The scourges of nature, which have revived industry to a certain degree in Lima, have had less influence on the manners of its inhabitants.

Superstition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, hath at Peru two sceptres at its command; one of gold, for the usurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enslaved and pillaged inhabitants. The scapulary and the rosary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards of Peru. It is on the form and colour of these kinds of talismans that the populace and the grandes found the prosperity of their undertakings, the success of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their salvation. The monkish habit, assumed in the last moments, constitutes the security of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapt in this clothing, which is so formidable to the devil, that avenging power of crimes will not dare to descend into their graves and seize upon their souls. If their ashes repose near the altar, they hope to partake of the sacrifices of the pontiffs, much more than the poor and the slaves.

Influenced by such fatal errors, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which secure their

happiness in this world and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promise of eternal life, secure to the monks a fortune, which can no longer be enjoyed; and families are disappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honesty or fraud, by legacies which serve to enrich men who have discovered the secret of escaping poverty by devoting themselves to it. Thus it is that the order of sentiments, ideas, and things, is subverted; and the children of opulent fathers are condemned to misery by the pious rapaciousness of a number of voluntary mendicants. The English, the Dutch, and the French, lose their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole universe; and such is the madness of bequeathing legacies to the Church, that the ground of all the houses of Peru belongs to the priesthood, or pays them some share of rent. The institution of monkish orders hath done at Peru, what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, sooner or later, at Constantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to secure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it, by leaving it to a monastery from the dread of being damned. The motives are a little different, but in the end the effect is the same. In both countries the church is the gulf, in which all the riches are absorbed; and these Castilians, who were heretofore so formidable, shrink before superstition, as Asiatic slaves do in the presence of their despot.

These extravagances might induce one to suppose these people totally stupid; but this would be an injustice. Since the beginning of the century, good books are common enough at Lima; the people are not entirely destitute of knowledge; and we may be allowed to say, that the French navigators, during the war for the succession, implanted some good principles among them. Nevertheless the ancient habits have lost but little of their force. The Spanish Creole lives constantly among courtesans, or amuses himself at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He would be afraid to diminish the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. His inclination leads him to marry in the country behind the church, that is an expression, which signifies living in a state of concubinage.

In vain do the bishops anathematise every year, at Easter, those persons who are united in these illicit bonds. But what power have these vain terrors against the impulse of amorous desires, against custom, and especially against the climate, which is continually struggling with, and at last proves victorious over, all the civil and religious laws that oppose its influence?

The charms of the Peruvian woman are superior to the terror which the spiritual arms of Rome inspire. The majority of them, especially the woman of Lima, have eyes sparkling with vivacity, a fair skin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of sprightliness and life, and a slender and well-formed shape; a foot better turned and smaller than that of the Spanish women themselves; thick and black hair, flowing as if by chance, and without ornament, over their neck and shoulders, which are extremely white.

These various natural graces are heightened by every improvement that art can add to them. The clothing of the woman is most sumptuous, and they use an unbounded profusion of pearls and diamonds in every kind of dress in which it is possible to introduce them. It is even looked upon as a sort of grandeur and dignity to suffer these valuable articles to be mislaid or lost. A woman even who hath no titles, and is not ennobled, seldom appears in public without gold tissues, and without jewels. She never goes out without being attended by three or four slaves, most of them Mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their mistresses.

Perfumes are in general use at Lima. The women are never without amber; they scent their linen and their clothes with it, and even their nosegays, as if there were something wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurements to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With these they adorn their sleeves, and sometimes their hair like shepherdesses.

The taste for music, which prevails throughout all Peru, is converted into a passion in the capital. The walls resound with nothing but singing, and concerts of vocal and instrumental music. Balls are frequent. The people dance

here with surprising heightness; but they neglect the graces of the arms, to attend to the agility of the feet, and especially to the inflections of the body; as images of the true emotions of voluptuousness.

Such are the pleasures which the women, who are all dressed rather with elegance than modesty, taste and diffuse at Lima. But it is particularly in those delicious saloons where they receive company, that they appear seducing. There, carelessly reclined on a couch, which is a foot and a half high, and five or six feet wide, and upon carpets and superb cushions, they pass their days in tranquillity and in delicious repose. The men who are admitted to their conversation, seat themselves at some distance, unless their adorers, from greater intimacy, be permitted to come up to the couch, which is, as it were, the sanctuary of worship and of the idol. Yet these goddesses choose rather to be affable than haughty; and, banishing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and sing and dance when they are desired.

The most distinguished citizens find in those *majorascos*, or perpetual entails, transmitted to them by the first conquerors their ancestors, a sufficiency to answer these professions: but the landed estates have not been adequate to the expences of a great number even of very ancient families. Most of them have had recourse to trade. An employment so worthy of man, and which extends at once his activity, his knowledge, and his power, hath never appeared to them to derogate from their nobility: and the laws have given a sanction to a mode of thinking so rational, and so useful. Their capitals, added to the remittances that are continually sent from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the centre of all the transactions which the provinces of Peru carry on, either among themselves, or with Mexico and Chili, and of the more important ones with the mother-country.

Manner in which the trade between Peru and Spain was carried on.

THE straits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this last connection. The length of the passage, the terror inspired by stormy and almost unknown seas, the fear of exciting the ambi-

tion of other nations, the impossibility of finding an asylum in case of unfortunate accidents, and other considerations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

This town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had risen to great prosperity, when, in 1670, it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous spot, at the distance of four or five miles from the first, and of three leagues from the harbour of Perico, which is formed by a great number of islands, and sufficiently spacious to contain the most numerous fleets. It rules over the provinces of Panama, the Veraguas, and Darien, regions without inhabitants, without culture, and without riches, and which were decorated with the great name of the kingdom of Terra Firma, at a period when great expectations were entertained of their mines. Panama hath never furnished any thing to trade from its own produce, except pearls.

The pearl fishery is carried on in forty-three islands of the gulf. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their negroes in it as are good swimmers. These slaves plunge and rephunge in the sea in search of pearls, till this exercise hath exhausted their strength or their spirits.

Every negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oysters. Those in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the stipulated obligation is considered as his indisputable property: he may sell it to whom he thinks proper, but commonly he cedes it to his master at a moderate price.

Sea monsters, which abound more about the islands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coasts, render this fishing dangerous. Some of these devour the divers in an instant. The manta fish, which derives its name from its figure, rolls them under its body, and suffocates them. In order to defend themselves against such enemies, every diver is armed with a poniard. The moment he perceives any of those voracious fish, he

attacks them with precaution; wounds them; and drives them away. Notwithstanding this, there are always some fishermen destroyed, and a great number crippled.

The pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water: some of them are even remarkable for their size and figure. These were formerly sold in Europe. Since art hath imitated them, and the passion for diamonds hath entirely superseded or diminished the use of them, they are all carried to Peru.

This branch of trade hath, however, infinitely less contributed to give reputation to Panama than the advantage which it enjoyed of being the staple of all the productions of the country of the Incas that are destined for the Old World. These riches, which were brought hither by a small fleet, were carried, some on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is situated on the northern coast of the Isthmus which separates the two seas.

Though the situation of this town had been surveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is disposed in the form of a crescent; on the declivity of a mountain which surrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts, which Admiral Vernon destroyed in 1740, seems to afford an entrance six hundred toises broad; but it is so straitened by rocks that are near the surface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Vessels can only be towed into it, because they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect security.

The intemperance of the climate of Porto Bello is so notorious, that it hath been named the grave of the Spaniards. It hath been more than once necessary to leave ships here, because all their crews had perished. The inhabitants themselves do not live long, and have all a vitiated constitution. It is rather a disgrace to reside here. Some Negroes and Mulattoes only are to be met with, with a small number of white people, fixed by the posts they hold under government. The garrison itself, though only consisting of a hundred and fifty men, doth not continue here more than three months at one time.

Till the beginning of the present century no woman dared to lie-in here: she would have deemed it devoting both her child and herself to certain death. The plants that are transplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, the moisture, and the vapours are excessive and continual, have never prospered. It is an established opinion, that the domestic animals of Europe, which have prodigiously multiplied in all the parts of the New World, lose their fruitfulness on coming to Porto Bello; and, if we may judge by the few that are now there, notwithstanding the abundance of pastures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded.

The badness of the climate prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at first the centre of the most extensive commerce that ever existed. While the riches of the New World arrived there, to be exchanged for the productions of the Old, the vessels that sailed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

The deputies for transacting this commerce, on both sides, regulated on-board the admiral's ship the price of goods, under the inspection of the commander of the squadron and of the governor of Panama. The estimate was not adjusted by the intrinsic value of each article, but by its scarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents consisted in forming their combinations so judiciously, that the cargo imported from Europe should absorb all the treasures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this case only, the Spanish merchants were allowed to go and complete the sale of their merchandize in the South seas; and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother-country for their purchases.

As soon as the prices were settled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult; it was carried on with the utmost frankness. Every thing was transacted with so much honesty, that they never opened their chests of piastres, nor proved the contents of their

hales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found, more than once, sacks of gold mixed among sacks of silver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. These mistakes were rectified before the departure of the ships, or on their return. There only happened, in 1654, an event which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piastres that were received at the last fair had a fifth of alloy. The loss was borne by the Spanish merchants; but, as the coiners of Lima were known to be the authors of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no disgrace.

The fair, the duration of which, an account of the noxious qualities of the air, was limited to forty days, was regularly holden. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons must have been dispatched from Spain every year, or at the latest every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that sailed from the fourth of August 1628, to the third of June 1635, prove that this rule was strictly observed. They returned after a voyage of eleven, ten, and sometimes even eight months, laden with immense riches, in gold, silver, and merchandize.

This prosperity continued without interruption to the middle of the seventeenth century. After the loss of Jamaica, a considerable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The sacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan, the English pirate, was attended with still more distressful consequences. Peru, which sent its stock beforehand into this city, now no longer transmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. This alteration occasioned delays and uncertainties. The fairs were not much frequented, and smuggling increased.

The elevation of a French prince to the throne of Charles V excited a general war; and, at the very commencement of hostilities, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impossibility of gaining Cadiz had obliged them to take refuge. The communication of Spain with Porto Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

The peace of Utrecht did not put an end to the mischief. The unfortunate situation of circumstances, made it impossible for the court of Madrid to dispense with granting exclusively to an English company the privilege of providing Peru with slaves. They were even obliged to grant to this encroaching company the right of sending to each fair a vessel, laden with the different merchandize that the country consumed. This vessel, which ought not to have been of more than five hundred tons burden, always carried more than a thousand. It was neither furnished with water nor provisions. Four or five vessels, which followed it, supplied its wants; and frequently substituted new goods in the place of such as had been sold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were still more completely so by the fraudulent transactions carried on in all the ports to which the negroes were conveyed. At last, after the expedition of 1737, it was impossible to support this commerce any longer; and a stop was put to those famous fairs, envied by all nations, though they ought to have been regarded as the common treasure of all people.

From this period Panama and Porto Bello have astonishingly declined. These two towns now only serve to carry on a few branches of a languid trade. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known that Magellan discovered, in 1520, at the southern extremity of America, the famous strait which bears his name. His law there, and they have been frequently seen since, men who were about a foot higher than Europeans. Other navigators have only seen in the same latitudes men of an ordinary stature. During the course of two centuries, navigators have mutually accused each other of ignorance, prejudice, and imposture. At length some voyagers have been fortunate enough to meet with hordes of a common size, and others of a more elevated stature; and they have concluded from this decisive event, that the persons who had gone

The Spaniards have substituted the route through the straits of Magellan and by Cape Horn to that of Panama.

before them had been right in what they affirmed, and wrong in what they denied. Then only it occurred; that there were no fixed inhabitants in these uncultivated regions; that the people came there from countries more or less distant; and that it was probable that the savages of one district were taller than those of another. This conjecture hath been supported by natural philosophy. It can never indeed be reasonably imagined, that nature deviates more from her principles, in producing those persons whom we choose to call giants, than in giving birth to those we call dwarfs.

There are giants and dwarfs in all countries. There are giants, dwarfs, and men of a common size, born of the same father and the same mother. There are giants and dwarfs in every species of animals, trees, fruits, and plants; and whatever system of generation we may adopt; we have no greater reason to be astonished at the difference of stature between men of the same family, or of different families, than to see fruits of a different size upon a neighbouring tree, or upon the same. The man who shall explain one of these phenomena will explain them all.

The strait of Magellan is one hundred and fourteen leagues long; and in some places less than a league in breadth. It separates the land of the Patagonians from the Terra del Fuego, which, it is presumed, were formerly one and the same continent. The conformity of their barren coasts, of their rough climate, of their monstrous rocks, of their inaccessible mountains, of their eternal snows, of their savage inhabitants; every circumstance, in a word, tends to suggest the idea, that this large channel of navigation is the effect of one of those natural revolutions which so often change the face of the globe.

Though it was for a long time the only passage known into the South sea, the dangers incurred there caused it almost to be forgotten. The boldness of Drake, the celebrated navigator, who sailed by this track to ravage the coasts of Peru, determined the Spaniards, in 1582, to form a considerable settlement there, destined to preserve this rich part of the New World from invasion.

This new colony perished almost entirely for want of provisions.

Pedro Sarmiento, who was charged with this important enterprise, set out from Europe in 1581, with twenty-three ships, and three thousand five hundred men. The expedition was thwarted by so many repeated calamities, that the admiral arrived the following year at the strait with only four hundred men, thirty women, and provisions for seven or eight months. The deplorable remains of so fine a colony were settled at Philippeville, in a safe, commodious, and spacious bay. But the misfortunes that had so cruelly attacked the Spaniards in their passage, obstinately pursued them at the end of their voyage. No succour was sent to them; the country furnished them no subsistence, and they perished with misery. Of the four-and-twenty wretches who had escaped this terrible calamity, three-and-twenty, whose fate hath always remained unknown, embarked for the river Plata. Fernando Gomez, the only one that remained, was taken up in 1587, by the English pirate Cavendish, who gave to the place where he had found him the name of Port Famine.

The loss of this colony was not, however, attended with such consequences as had been apprehended. The straits of Magellan soon ceased to be the road of these pirates, who were urged by their mercenary views to visit these remote regions. In 1616, some Dutch navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who designed to pass into the South sea. It was still more frequented by French vessels, during the war which caused such confusion in Europe at the beginning of the present century. The impossibility which Philip V felt of furnishing his colonies himself with provisions, emboldened the subjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing, which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at first they got a profit of eight hundred *per cent.* The merchants of Saint Malo, who had seized upon this commerce, did not acquire riches for themselves alone. In 1709, they delivered them up to their country, which

was exhausted by the inclemency of the seasons, by repeated defeats, and by an ignorant and arbitrary administration. A navigation which allowed of such noble sacrifices, soon excited an emulation that was too universal. The competition became so considerable, and the goods fell into such disrepute, that it was impossible to sell them; and several privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-establishing itself; and these foreign traders made advantages that were considerable, when the court of Madrid, in 1718, took effectual measures to remove them from these latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

It was not, however, till 1740, that the Spaniards began themselves to double Cape Horn. They employed ships and pilots from Saint Malo in their first voyages; but a little experience soon enabled them to go without these foreign assistances; and these stormy seas soon grew more familiar to their navigators, than they had ever been to their masters in this career.

Is Peru as rich as it was formerly?

Till then, the high opinion that had been always entertained, and for a long time with reason, of the riches of Peru, had been kept up. The court of Spain accused the smuggling trade of having turned aside the greatest part of them; and they flattered themselves that the new system they adopted would bring them back into their ports in as great abundance as at the most distant periods. A demonstration, to which it was impossible not to accede, convinced the most incredulous persons, that the mines of this part of the New World were no longer what they had been, and that the void they had left had not been filled up by any other objects.

From 1748 to 1753, Lima received from Spain, for all Peru, ten ships, which brought back every year 30,764,617 livres [1,281,859l. 8d.] This sum was composed of 4,594,192 livres [191,404l. 13s. 6d.] in gold; of 20,673,657 livres [861,402l. 7s. 6d.] in silver; and of 5,496,768 livres [229,032l. 10s.] in various productions.

These productions were thirty-one thousand quintals of cacao, which were sold in Europe for 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.] Six hundred quintals of bark, which were sold for 207,360 livres [8640l.] Four hundred and seventy quintals of Vicuna wool, which were sold for 324,000 livres [13,500l.] Ten thousand eight hundred and fifty quintals of copper, which were sold for 810,108 livres [33,792l.] Ten thousand six hundred quintals of tin, which were sold for 915,300 livres [38,137l. 10s.]

Of the gold and silver, 1,620,000 livres [67,500l.] belonged to the government; 19,422,671 livres [809,277l. 19s. 2d.] to trade; and 4,225,178 livres [176,049l. 1s. 8d.] to the clergy, and the civil and military officers.

Of the merchandize, there were 1,381,569 livres [57,565l. 7s. 6d.] for the crown; and 4,115,199 livres [171,466l. 12s. 6d.] for the merchants.

Time hath produced some little change in affairs, but the improvement is not considerable.

BOOK VIII.

Conquest of Chili and Paraguay by the Spaniards. Account of the Events that have accompanied and followed the Invasion of these Countries. Principles on which Spain regulates her Colonies.

Reason and equity both allow the foundation of colonies; but they point out the principles from which we ought not to deviate in establishing them.

Have the Europeans had a right to found colonies in the New World?

Any number of men, however considerable, coming into a foreign and unknown country, are to be considered only as one single man. Strength increases with numbers, but the right is still the same. If one, or two hundred men can say, *this country belongs to us*, one man may say the same.

The country is either desert, or partly desert; and partly peopled, or it is entirely peopled.

If it be entirely peopled, I have no right to claim any thing but hospitality, and the assistance which one man owes to another. If I should be exposed to perish with cold or hunger upon any shore, I shall make use of my weapon, I shall take what I want by force, and I shall kill any one who resists me. But when I have obtained an asylum, fire and water, bread and salt, the people have fulfilled their obligations towards me. If I require more, I become a thief and an assassin. I have been, however, suffered to remain among them, and have made myself acquainted with their laws and manners. They suit my inclinations, and I am desirous of settling in the country. If the people consent, it is a favour they do me; if they refuse, I have no right to be offended. The Chinese are, perhaps, bad politicians; when they shut the gates of their empire against us; but they are not unjust. Their country is sufficiently populous, and we are guests of too dangerous a nature.

If the country be partly desert and partly occupied, the deserted part belongs to me; for I may take possession of it by my labour. The former inhabitant would be barbarous, if he came suddenly to overthrow my hut, destroy my plantations, and pillage my fields. I may repel his intrusion by force. I may extend my domain to the confines of his. The forests, the rivers, and the shores of the sea, are common to us both, unless the exclusive use of them should be necessary to his subsistence. All he can require of me further, is, that I should be a peaceable neighbour, and that my establishment should have no threatening aspect to him. Every nation is authorized to provide for its future and present safety. If I make a formidable inclosure, if I collect arms, if I raise fortifications, its deputies will be wise, if they come to tell me, Art thou our friend or our enemy? If a friend, what is the use of all these warlike preparations? If an enemy, you will give us leave to destroy them; and the nation will act prudently, if at the instant they get rid of their well-founded apprehensions. With much greater reason may they expel and exterminate me, without offence to the laws of humanity, and justice, if I seize upon their wives, their children, or their property; if I make any

attempts against their civil liberty; if I restrain them in their religious opinions; if I pretend to give them laws; and if I wish to enslave them. I then become one wild beast more in their neighbourhood; and they owe me no more pity than they would a tiger. If I have provisions which they want, and if they have some that are useful to me, I may propose exchanges. We are both of us at liberty to set what price we choose on what belongs to us. A needle is of more real value to a people reduced to the necessity of sewing the skins of the beasts which cover them with the bone of a fish, than their silver can be to me. A sabre, or a hatchet, will be of infinite value to him who supplies the place of these instruments with cutting stones, fixed in a piece of wood hardened in the fire. Besides, I have crossed the seas to bring these useful articles; and I shall cross them again to carry back into my country the things I have taken in exchange. The expences of the voyage, the averages, and the dangers, must therefore enter into the calculation. If I laugh within myself at the absurdity of the man who gives me up his gold for iron, he, in his turn, laughs at me, who give him up my iron, all the usefulness of which he knows, for his gold, which is of no service to him. We are both mutually imposed upon, or rather, indeed, there is no imposition on one side or the other. Exchanges ought to be perfectly free. If I want to take away by force what is denied me, or to compel by violence the acceptance of what is rejected, they have a legal right to confine me, or to drive me away. If I seize upon the foreign commodity without offering the price for it, or if I carry it away clandestinely, I am a thief, who may be killed without scruple.

A desert and uninhabited country is the only one we can appropriate to ourselves. The first discovery, being well ascertained, was a legitimate taking of possession.

From these principles, which appear to me founded in truth, let the European nations judge of themselves, and give themselves what name they deserve. Their navigators arrive in a part of the New World which is not occupied by any of the people belonging to the old; and they immediately bury in the ground a small plate of

metal upon which they have engraved these words : THIS DISTRICT BELONGS TO US. And why does it belong to you ? Are you not as unjust and as foolish as savages, who being thrown by chance upon your coasts, should write upon the sand of your shore, or upon the bark of your trees : THIS COUNTRY BELONGS TO US ? You have no right over the insensible and brute part of the creation, over the soil where you land ; and yet you arrogate one over man, who is your fellow-creature. Instead of acknowledging in this man a brother, you consider him only as a slave or beast of burden. O my fellow citizens ! you think and you act in this manner, although you have notions of justice, a system of morality, a holy religion, and one common Parent with those whom you treat so tyrannically. This reproach should be addressed more particularly to the Spaniards ; and it will unfortunately be still more justified by the enormities they have committed in the country of Chili.

*First irruptions
of the Spaniards
into Chili.*

THIS region, such as it is possessed by the Spaniards, hath one common breadth of thirty leagues between the sea and the Cordelciras, and nine hundred leagues of coast, from the great desert of Atacamas, which separates it from Peru, to the islands of Chiloe, which divide it from the country of the Patagonians:

The Incas had prevailed upon part of the inhabitants of this vast region to submit to their wise laws; and intended to subdue the whole, had they not met with insuperable difficulties.

This important project was resumed by the Spaniards, as soon as they had conquered the principal provinces of Peru. In the beginning of 1535, Almagre set out from Cusco with five hundred and seventy Europeans, and fifteen thousand Peruvians. He traversed at first the country of Carcas, to which the mines of Potosi have since given so much celebrity. To go from this country to Chili, there were but two ways known; and they were both considered as impracticable. The first presented along the borders of the sea nothing but burning sands, without water and without subsistence. To pursue the second, it

was necessary to cross very steep mountains of a prodigious height, and covered with snows as old as the creation. These difficulties did not discourage the general; and he determined upon the last of these, for no other reason than because it was the shortest. His ambition was the destruction of one hundred and fifty Spaniards, and ten thousand Indians: but at length he accomplished his design, and was received with the greatest marks of submission by the nations that had been formerly under the dominion of the empire that had just been subverted. The terror of his arms would, probably, have procured him greater advantages, had not some concerns of a private nature brought him back to the centre of the empire. His little army refused to repass the Cordelirias: and he was obliged to bring it back by the way he had first neglected. It accidentally met with so many fortunate circumstances, that it suffered much less than had been expected. This good success enlarged the views of Almagro, and precipitated him, perhaps, into those enterprises which occasioned his fatal end.

The Spaniards appeared again in Chili in 1541. Valdivia, their leader, entered it without the least opposition. The nations that inhabited it were no sooner recovered from the astonishment with which they had been seized at the view of the European arms and discipline, than they wished to regain their independence. The war continued incessantly for ten years. If some districts, discouraged by repeated losses, resolved at last to submit, many of them obstinately persisted in the defence of their liberty, though they were generally defeated.

An Indian captain, whose age and infirmities confined him to his hut, was continually told of these misfortunes. The grief of seeing his people always beaten by a handful of strangers, inspired him with courage. He formed thirteen companies of a thousand men each, arranged them in file, and led them against the enemy. If the first company was routed, it was not to fall back upon the next, but to rally, and be supported by it. This order, which was strictly obeyed, disconcerted the Spaniards. They forced through all the companies one after another, without gaining any material advantage. As both the men

and horses wanted rest, Valdivia retreated towards a defile, where he judged he could easily defend himself; but the Indians did not allow him time sufficient to secure his retreat thither. Their rear marched through bye-ways, and took possession of the defile; while their vanguard followed him with so much precipitation, that he was surrounded and massacred, together with his hundred and fifty men. It is said, that the savages poured melted gold, down his throat, exclaiming with exultation, *glut thyself with that metal, thou art so fond of.* They availed themselves of this victory, to burn and destroy many of the European settlements, which would all have shared the same fate, had not the Spaniards been timely assisted by some considerable reinforcements from Peru, which enabled them to defend their remaining posts, and to recover those they had lost.

The Spaniards have been continually engaged in hostilities in Chili. Manner in which their enemies make war.

THESE fatal hostilities have been renewed, in proportion as the usurpers have wished to extend their empire, and frequently even when they did not entertain this ambitious design. The engagements have been very bloody, and have scarce ever been interrupted, except by truces of more or less duration. Since the year 1771, however, tranquillity hath not been disturbed.

The people of Arauco are the most common, the most intrepid, and the most irreconcilable enemies the Spaniards have in these regions. They are often joined by the inhabitants of Tucapel, and of the river Biobio, and by those who extend towards the Cordeliers. As their manners bear a greater resemblance to those of the savages of North America, than to those of the Peruvians, their neighbours, the confederacies they make are always formidable.

When they go to war, they carry nothing with them, and want neither tents nor baggage. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with lances and darts. As they are sure of finding in one place what they had in another, they willingly resign any coun-

try which they are unable to defend. All places are equally indifferent to them. Their troops, free from all encumbrance of provisions and ammunition, march with surprising agility. They expose their lives like men who set little value on them; and, if they lose the field of battle, they are not at a loss for magazines and encampments wherever there is ground covered with fruits.

These are the only people of the New World who have ventured to try their strength with the Spaniards in the open field, and who have thought of the use of the sling to launch the stroke of death from afar against the enemy. They are so bold, that they will attack the best fortified posts. They sometimes succeed in these violent attacks, because they are continually receiving succours, which prevent them from being sensible of their losses. If these be so considerable as to oblige them to desist, they retire to the distance of a few leagues; and five or six days after, they direct their attacks to another post. These barbarians never think themselves beaten, unless they be surrounded. If they can reach a place of difficult access, they think themselves conquerors. The head of a Spaniard, which they carry off in triumph, comforts them for the loss of a hundred Indians.

Sometimes hostilities are foreseen for a considerable time before, and are concerted with prudence. Very frequently a drunken fellow wantonly calls to arms; the alarm is instantly spread, a chief is chosen, and war is determined. A certain night is immediately fixed upon, in the dead of which, the time they always choose for the commencement of hostilities, they fall upon the next village where there are Spaniards, and from thence proceed to others. They murder all the inhabitants, except the white women, whom they always take to themselves. This is the origin of the many white and fair Indians that are to be met with.

As these Americans carry on war without expence or inconvenience, they have nothing to apprehend from its continuance; and it is a constant rule with them never to sue for peace. The pride of Spain must always condescend to make the first overtures. When these are favourably received, a conference is holden. The governor

of Chili and the Indian general, attended by the most distinguished captains on both sides, settle the terms of accommodation, at the convivial meeting. These meetings were formerly holden on the frontiers; but the two last were in the capital of the colony. The savages have even been prevailed upon to keep constantly some deputies there, who are commissioned to maintain harmony between the two nations.

Settlements formed by the Spaniards at Chili. NOTWITHSTANDING the violence and obstinacy of so many engagements, several good settlements have been formed at Chili, chiefly on the borders of the ocean.

Coquimbo, or La Serena, a town built in 1544, at the distance of five or six hundred toises from the sea, to contain the Indians, and to secure the communication between Chili and Peru, was never a place of importance. It became still less considerable after having been pillaged and burnt by pirates. Notwithstanding the fertility of its territory, and although plentiful mines of the finest copper have been discovered in its neighbourhood, it hath never entirely got the better of this misfortune.

Valparaiso was at first nothing more than a collection of huts, destined to receive the merchandize coming from Peru, and the provisions that were to be sent there. By degrees the factors of this trade, which belonged entirely to the merchants of the capital, succeeded in appropriating it to themselves. Then this wretched hamlet, though in a very disagreeable situation, became a flourishing city. Its harbour runs a league into the land. The bottom of it is a tenacious and firm kind of mud. At the distance of a thousand toises from the shore, there are from thirty-six to forty fathoms of water, and from fifteen to sixteen quite close to the shore. In the months of April and May, the north winds would expose the ships to some danger if care were not taken to fasten their anchors strongly. The advantage which this port hath of being the nearest to the best plantations, and to Saint Yago, may relieve it from the apprehension of seeing its prosperity diminish.

In 1550, the town of La Concepcion was built on an

uneven and sandy soil, a little raised, upon the borders of a bay which is near four leagues in circumference, and which hath three ports, one of which only is safe. The town was at first the capital of the colony: but the neighbouring Indians so frequently made themselves masters of it, that, in 1574, it was thought proper to deprive it of this useful and honourable distinction. In 1603, it was again destroyed by an implacable enemy. Since that period, it hath received very considerable damages from several earthquakes. Such, however, is the excellence of its territory, that it still retains some degree of splendour.

At the distance of seventy-five leagues from Concepcion island, and still on the borders of the Pacific ocean, stands Valdivia, a town more important than it is populous. Its harbour and fortress, which are considered as the key of the South sea, were for a long time under the immediate inspection of the viceroys of Peru. It was at length found that this was too distant a superintendence; and the place was incorporated with the government of the province.

No one had yet thought of the islands of Chiloe. The good fortune which the Jesuits had had, of collecting and civilizing a great number of savages in the chief of them, which is fifty leagues long, and seven or eight broad, excited a desire of settling in them. In the centre are the converted Indians. On the eastern coast a fortification, named Chacao, hath been built, where the garrison necessary for its defence is maintained.

In the inland part of the country is Saint Yago, hastily built in 1541, destroyed in 1730 by an earthquake, and immediately after rebuilt, in a style so pleasant, and with such conveniences, as are very rarely found in the New World. The houses, indeed, are low, and constructed with bricks hardened in the sun: but they are all white on the outside, all painted within. They have all large gardens, and are refreshed with running streams. This city reckons forty thousand inhabitants; and the number would be still greater, were it not for nine convents of monks, and seven of nuns, which have been erected there by superstition.

Among the number of unfortunate auspices under which the discovery of the New World was made, we must not forget the importance which the prevailing spirit of superstition then gave to the monks; an importance which in some countries hath since been considerably diminished; which seems to struggle powerfully against the progress of science in others; which still prevails with imperious sway in those possessions that are distant from Spain, and which would yet leave traces as permanent as they are fatal, if even they were from this moment counteracted by all the authority of the ministry.

Saint Yago is the capital of the state and the seat of empire. The commandant there is subordinate to the viceroy of Peru in all matters relating to the government, to the finances, and to war: but he is independent of him as chief administrator of justice, and president of the royal audience. Eleven corregidores, distributed in the province, are charged, under his orders, with the details of administration.

A population of four or five hundred thousand persons hath successively been formed in this district. There are but few here of those unfortunate slaves that Africa supplies; and most of them are devoted to domestic service. The descendants of the first savages, who were subdued with so much difficulty by a set of ferocious adventurers, have either taken refuge among inaccessible mountains, or are confounded with their conquerors. All the colonists are considered and treated as Spaniards. The pride of this descent hath not inspired them with that invincible aversion for useful labour, which is so universal in their nation. Most of these healthy, active, and robust men live upon separate plantations, and cultivate, with their own hands, a territory of greater or less extent.

*Fertility of
Chili, and its
present state.*

THEY are encouraged in these commendable labours, by a sky always pure, and always serene; by a climate the most agreeably temperate of any in the two hemispheres; and still more by a soil, the fertility of which astonishes all travellers. Upon this fortunate land, the crops of the vine, of corn, and of the olive, although

Little care hath been taken in the cultivation, are four times as much as those we obtain in Europe, with all our industry and with all our skill. None of the fruits of the earth have degenerated. Several of our animals have improved, and the horses, in particular, have acquired a speed and a spirit, which those of Andalusia, from which they descend, never had. Nature hath carried her favours still farther, in bestowing upon this region an excellent kind of copper, which is employed, with advantage, in the Old and in the New World. Gold is likewise found here.

Before the year 1750, the treasury had not received in any year, for its twentieth of this precious metal, more than 50,220 livres [2092l. 10s.] At this period a mint was established in the colony; and this innovation was attended with favourable consequences. In 1771, the royal duties amounted to 200,092 livres 4 sols [8334l. 13s. 6d.]; and it must have increased considerably since. The alcavala, and the customs, did not produce more than 324,000 livres [13,500l.] and they now bring in 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.] These several branches of revenue are increased since 1753, by the exclusive sale of tobacco.

Accordingly, Chili is no longer obliged to draw any thing from the coffers of Peru for its public expences. The most considerable of these is the maintenance of the troops. It amounts to 490,125 livres 12 sols [20,421l. 18s.] for the pay of a thousand infantry, of two hundred and forty horse, and of two companies of well-affected Indians; which, since 1754, form the establishment of the country. Exclusive of these forces, which are distributed in the islands Juan Fernandez, and of Chiloe, and in the ports of La Concepcion, and of Val Paraiso, upon the frontiers of the Andes, there is in Valdivia a particular garrison of seven hundred and forty-six soldiers, the maintenance of which costs 655,473 livres 12 sols [27,311l. 8s.] These means of defence would be supported, if necessary, by a very numerous militia. Perhaps, the infantry of these forces would make but little resistance, notwithstanding the pains that have been lately taken to exercise them; but some exertions might reasonably be

expected from the best horsemen there are, perhaps, on the globe.

Trade of Chili with the savages, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

CHILI hath always had commercial connections with the neighbouring Indians on its frontiers, with Peru, and with Paraguay.

The savages supply it chiefly with the pancho. This is a woollen stuff, sometimes white, and generally blue, about three ells long, and two in breadth. The head is passed through a hole made in the middle, and it falls down on all the parts of the body. Except on occasions of some ceremonies that are very unfrequent, the men and women, the common people, and persons of a more elevated rank, use no other clothing. It costs from thirty to one thousand livres [from 11. 5s. to 411. 13s. 4d.] according to the degree of its fineness, and especially according to the borders, more or less elegant, and more or less rich, that are added to it. These people receive in exchange small looking-glasses, toys, and some other articles of little value. Whatever may be their passion for these trifles, when they are displayed before them, they would never go out of their forests and fields in search of them; it is therefore always necessary that they should be carried to them. The merchant who wishes to undertake this little trade, applies in the first instance to the heads of the families, who are the sole depositaries of the public authority. When he hath obtained permission to sell, he goes through the habitations, and gives his merchandize indiscriminately to all the persons who ask for it. Having finished this business, he gives notice of his departure, and every one who hath purchased any thing of him, brings, without delay, to the village where he first made his appearance, the goods agreed for between them. There hath never been any instance of dishonesty in this traffic. The merchant is allowed an escort to assist him in conducting the cloths and the cattle he hath received in payment to the frontiers of the country.

It is not from what we find in the midst of forests, but from what we observe in the centre of polished societies,

that we learn to despise and to mistrust mankind. If any of our merchants, in any one of our fairs, were indiscriminately to distribute his goods, without security for the payment of them, to whomsoever should come to receive them, is to be imagined that he would ever again see the people return with the price of the things they had purchased? A savage, unrestrained by laws, would not be guilty of those things which men who are under the influence of honour, and the controul of civil and religious laws, would not blush to commit, to the disgrace of our religion, of our policy, and of our morals.

Wine and brandy were sold, till the year 1724, to these people, who, like most other savages, are excessively fond of them. When they were intoxicated, they used to take up arms, massacre all the Spaniards they met with, and ravage the country near their dwellings. It is seldom that the corrupter doth not receive his punishment from the very person he hath corrupted. Frequent instances of this are seen in children with respect to their fathers, who have neglected their education; in women, towards their husbands, whose morals are bad; in slaves, towards their masters; in subjects towards their sovereigns, when neglected by them; in a subdued nation towards the usurpers. We ourselves have been punished for the vices we have transferred into the other hemisphere; among ourselves and among people of the New World, whom we have subdued; among ourselves, by the multitude of factitious wants we have created: among them, in a variety of ways, and particularly by teaching them the use of spirituous liquors, which hath often animated them with artificial fury, which they have turned against us. In whatever manner we proceed, whether by superstition, by patriotism itself, or by spirituous liquors, in depriving man of his reason, it cannot be done without fatal consequences. If we intoxicate him, whatever may be the nature of the intoxication, it will soon go off, or it will be productive of mischief.

Drunkenness, or an habitual excess in the use of spirituous liquors, is a coarse and brutal vice, which deprives the mind of its vigour, and the body of part of its strength. It is an infringement of the law of nature, which forbids

man to forfeit his reason, the only advantage which distinguishes him from other animals, who live on the surface of the globe.

This irregularity, though always blameable, is not equally so everywhere, because it is not attended with the same inconveniences in all regions. Generally speaking, it makes men furious in hot countries, and only renders them stupid in cold ones. It hath therefore been necessary to forbid it with more strictness in one climate than in another. From hence it hath happened, that wherever a regular form of government hath been established, this vice is become more uncommon under the equator than towards the pole.

This is not the case among savage nations. Those of the south not being more restrained than those of the north, by the magistrate or by habit, they have all devoted themselves with equal fury to their passion for strong liquors. It hath been a part of the policy of the Europeans to supply the savages with them, either for the purpose of stripping or of enslaving them, or even to induce them to employ themselves in some useful labours. These liquors have scarce been less destructive to these people than our arms; and we cannot forbear to rank them among the number of calamities with which we have loaded the other hemisphere.

Spain is to be commended for having at length abstained from selling to the inhabitants of Chili wine and brandy. This prudent step hath evidently increased the connections that were kept up with them: but it is not possible that they should for a long time become so considerable as those that are maintained with Peru.

Chili supplies Peru with hides, dried fruit, copper, salt meat, horses, hemp, and corn, and receives in exchange, tobacco, sugar, cocoa, earthen-ware, some manufactures made at Quito, and some articles of luxury brought from Europe. The ships sent from Calloa on this traffic, which is reciprocally useful, were formerly bound for Concepcion bay, but now come to Valparaiso. During the course of near a century, no navigator in these tranquil seas would venture to lose sight of land; and then these voyages lasted a whole year.

A pilot of the Old World, having at length observed the

winds, performed the navigation in one month. He was considered as a wizard, and he was taken up by order of the inquisition, whose ignorance becomes an object of ridicule, when its cruelty doth not excite our abhorrence. The journal he produced was his vindication; and it plainly appeared that to perform the same voyage, it was only necessary to keep clear of the coasts. His method was, therefore, universally adopted.

Chili sends to Paraguay wines, brandy, oil, and chiefly gold; and receives in payment, mules, wax, cotton, the herb of Paraguay, negroes, and also much of the merchandize of our hemisphere, before the merchants of Lima had obtained, either by bribery, or by their influence, that this last branch of commerce should be prohibited. The communication between the two colonies is not carried on by sea; it hath been found more expeditious, safer, and even less expensive, to go by land, though there are three hundred and sixty-four leagues, from St. Jago to Buenos-Ayres, and that more than forty of these are amidst the snows and precipices of the Cordelciras.

If the connections between these two establishments should be multiplied or extended, they must be kept up by the straits of Magellan, or by Cape Horn. It hath been hitherto a matter of doubt which of these two ways was the best; but the problem seems to be solved by the observations of the last navigators. They almost generally prefer the straits, on account of a quantity of fresh water, wood, fish, shell-fish, and the infinite number of plants, specific remedies against the scurvy, that are to be found there. But this preference can only take place from September to March, that is to say in the summer months. During the short days of winter, it would be necessary to sail only for a few hours, or to brave, in a channel most commonly narrow, the violence of the winds, the rapidity of the currents, and the impetuosity of the waves, with an almost moral certainty of being shipwrecked. In this season of the year, the open sea, and consequently the doubling of Cape Horn, is to be preferred.

A number of combinations, palpably absurd, have constantly deprived Chili of every immediate connection with Spain. The little merchandize of our hemisphere which

this country could consume came to it from Peru, which received them itself with difficulty, and at a great expence; by the road of Panama. The fate of Chili was not even changed when the sailing by Cape Horn was substituted to that which was practised by the isthmus of Darien; and it was not till very late, that the ships which used to coast this country in their way to Lima, were permitted to leave some small portion of their cargoes. At length, a more agreeable prospect hath opened itself to this beautiful country. Since the month of February 1778, all the ports of the mother-country are allowed to trade there at pleasure. This fortunate adoption of the true principles of commerce must be attended with the greatest success; and this innovation will have the same influence over Paraguay.

The Spaniards discover Paraguay. Extravagance of their conduct during two centuries.

THIS is an immense region, bounded on the north by Peru and the Brazils, on the south by the country bordering on the straits of Magellan, on the east by the Brazils, and on the west by Chili and Peru.

The Paraguay derives its name from a large river which all geographers have supposed to proceed from the lake Xarayes. The Spanish and Portuguese commissioners, appointed in 1751 to regulate the limits of the two empires, were much surprised to meet each other at the origin of this river, without having perceived this mass of waters, which was said to be immense. They ascertained, that what had been before taken for a prodigious lake, was nothing more than a very low portion of land, covered, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth degree of latitude, in the rainy season, by the overflowings of the river. Since that period, it is known that the Paraguay river takes its rise in the flat country called *Campo des Paracis*, in the thirteenth degree of southern latitude; and that, towards the eighteenth degree, it communicates, by some very narrow channels, with two great lakes in the country of the Chiquitos.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, this immense coun-

try contained a great number of nations, most of them consisting of a few families. Their manners must have been the same; and if there had been any difference in their characters, it would not have been perceived by the stupid adventurers who had first shed the blood of this part of the New World. These people lived upon hunting, fishing, wild fruits, honey, which was commonly found in the forests, and roots that grew spontaneously. With a view of procuring greater plenty of wood, they were perpetually wandering from one district to another. As the Indians had nothing to remove but a few earthen vessels, and as branches of trees could be found everywhere to build huts with, these emigrations were attended with few encumbrances. Though they all lived in a state of absolute independence, yet the necessity of mutual defence had obliged them to connect their interests. Some individuals united under the direction of a leader of their own choice. These associations, which were more or less numerous, in proportion to the reputation and abilities of the chief, were as easily dissolved as formed.

The discovery of the river Paraguay was made in 1515, by Diaz de Solis, a noted pilot of Castile. He and most of his men were massacred by the natives, who, to avoid being enslaved, some years after also destroyed the Portuguese of Brazil.

The two rival nations, equally alarmed by these calamities, gave up all thoughts of Paraguay, and turned their avaricious views towards another place. The Spaniards accidentally returned there in 1526.

Sebastian Cabot, who in 1496 had made the discovery of Newfoundland for the crown of England, finding that kingdom was too much taken up with domestic affairs to think of making settlements in a new world, offered his services to Castile, where his reputation made him be fixed upon to conduct an important expedition.

The *Victory*, celebrated for being the first ship that ever sailed round the world, and the only one of Magellan's squadron that returned to Europe, had brought back from the East Indies a great quantity of spices. The great profit that was made from the sale of them, occasioned a second expedition, the command of which was given to

Cabot. In pursuing the track of the former voyage, he arrived at the mouth of the Plata. Whether he was in want of provisions necessary for a longer voyage, or whether, which is more probable, his men began to be mutinous, he stopped there. He even sailed up the river, gave it the name of *La Plata*, because, among the spoils of a few Indians, inhumanly put to death, some ornaments of gold and silver had been found, and built a kind of fortress at the entrance of the river Riocentro, which comes down from the mountains of Tucuman. The opposition he met with from the inhabitants of the country, made him judge, that, in order to form a solid establishment, other means were wanting superior to those he had; and, in 1530, he went to Spain in order to solicit them. Those of his companions whom he had left in the colony were most of them massacred, and the few who escaped from the arrows of the enemy soon followed him.

Some more considerable forces, led by Mendoza, appeared on the river in 1535, and laid the foundations of Buenos-Ayres. They were soon reduced to the necessity of perishing with hunger within their pallisades, or of devoting themselves to certain death, if they ventured to go out of them in order to procure subsistence. A return into Europe seemed to be the only way of relief from so desperate a situation: but the Spaniards had persuaded themselves that the inland countries abounded in mines; and this prejudice induced them to persevere. They abandoned a place where they could no longer remain, and went to found, in 1536, a colony on the island of Assumption, three hundred leagues up the country, but still on the banks of the same river. By this change, they evidently removed farther from the assistance of the mother-country; but they imagined it brought them nearer the source of riches; and their avidity was still greater than their foresight.

They were still, however, reduced to the necessity of perishing, unless they could succeed in diminishing the extreme antipathy the savages bore them. The marriage of the Spaniards with the Indian women appeared calculated to effect this great change; and it was accordingly resolved upon. From the union of two such differ-

out nations sprung the race of the Mestees, which, in process of time, became so common in South America. Thus it is the fate of the Spaniards, in all parts of the world, to be a mixed race. The blood of the Moors still flows in their veins in Europe, and that of the savages in the other hemisphere. Perhaps this mixture may be of advantage, if it be a fact that men, as well as animals, are improved by crossing the breed. It were indeed to be wished that the various races of mankind were lost in one, that there might be an end of those national antipathies, which only serve to perpetuate the calamities of war, and all the several passions that destroy the human species. But discord seems to arise of itself between brothers; can it therefore be expected that all mankind should become one family, the children of which sprung, as it were, from the same common parent, should no longer thirst after each other's blood? Per is not this fatal thirst excited and maintained by that of gold?

It was this shameful passion which kept up the cruelty of the Spaniards, even after the connections they had formed. They seemed to punish the Indians for their own obstinacy in searching for gold where there was none. Several ships, which were bringing them troops and ammunition, were lost, with all they had on board, by venturing too far up the river; but even this circumstance could not prevent them from obstinately persisting in their avaricious views, though they had so long been disappointed in them; till they were compelled, by repeated orders from the mother-country, to re-establish Buenos-Ayres.

This necessary undertaking was now become easy. The Spaniards, who had multiplied in Paraguay, were strong enough to restrain or destroy the nations that might oppose them. Accordingly, as it had been expected, they met with little difficulty. Juan Ortiz de Zarate executed the plan in 1580, and rebuilt Buenos-Ayres upon the same spot which had been forsaken for forty years. Some of the petty nations in the neighbourhood submitted to the yoke. Those which were more attached to their liberty, went to a greater distance, with a view of removing still farther, in proportion as their oppressors should extend

their establishments. Most of them at last took refuge in Chaco.

Such of the Indians as will not submit to the yoke of Spain take refuge at Chaco. This country, which is two hundred and fifty leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth, is reckoned one of the best in America; and it is thought to be peopled with one hundred thousand savages. They form, as in other parts of the New World, a great number of nations, forty-six or forty-seven of which are very imperfectly known.

This region is traversed by several rivers. The Pilcomayo, more considerable than all the rest, issues from the province of Charcas, and divides into two branches, seventy leagues before it empties itself into the Rio de la Plata. The course of this river appeared to be the most convenient way of establishing settled connections between Paraguay and Peru. It was not, however, till 1702, that an attempt was made to sail up it. The people who dwelt upon the banks understood very well that they should sooner or later be enslaved if the expedition were successful, and they prevented this misfortune by massacring all the Spaniards who were engaged in it.

Nineteen years after, the Jesuits resumed this grand project: but when they had advanced three hundred and fifty leagues, they were forced to put back, because they were in want of water to continue their voyage. They were blamed for having undertaken it in the months of September, October, and November, which, in these countries, are the dry seasons; and there is no doubt but that the enterprise would be successful in the other seasons of the year.

This road of communication must either have appeared less advantageous, or must have presented greater difficulties than were at first conceived, since no attempt hath since been made to open it. The government, however, have not entirely given up their ancient project of subduing these people. After incredible fatigues, and which were for a long time useless, some missionaries have at length succeeded in fixing three thousand of these wan-

derera in fourteen villages, seven of which are situated on the frontiers of Tucuman, four on the side of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, two towards Taiza, and only one in the neighbourhood of Assumption island.

NOTWITHSTANDING the frequent incursions of the inhabitants of Chaco, and the fury of some other less numerous colonies, Spain hath succeeded in forming three great provinces in this district. That which is called Tucuman is even, well watered, and wholesome.

The Spaniards succeed in founding three large provinces. Peculiarities in each of them.

The cotton and the corn that is consumed in the country is cultivated there with the greatest success; and some experiments have shewn that indigo, and the other productions peculiar to the New World, would thrive there as well as in any of the settlements which they have enriched for so long a time. The forests are all filled with honey, and there are not, perhaps, better pasturages on the face of the globe. Most of the woods are of a superior kind. There is one tree in particular, known by the name of Quebracho, which is said to be nearly as hard, as weighty, and as durable as the best marble, and which, on account of the difficulty of conveyance, is sold at Potosi for as much as ten thousand livres [416l. 13s. 4d.] That portion of the Andes which is in this district is abounding in gold and copper, and some mines have been already opened there.

But it would require an infinite number of hands to extract from this immense territory the riches it contains. Notwithstanding this, the persons who give the most favourable accounts of its population do not reckon it to amount to more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, Spaniards, Indians, and Negroes. They are collected in seven villages, of which Saint Yago del Estero is the principal, or are distributed upon scattered domains, some of which have more than twelve leagues in extent, and reckon as far as forty thousand horned cattle, and six thousand horses, without including other herds of animals of less importance.

The province which is particularly called Paraguay, is

much too damp, on account of the forests, lakes, and rivers, with which it is covered. Accordingly, exclusive of the celebrated missions of the same name which belong to it, it is not computed to contain more than fifty-four thousand inhabitants. Four hundred only are at Assumption, the capital; two other villages, which also bear the names of towns, have still a less number. Fourteen colonies, governed upon the same principle as those of the Guaranis, contain six thousand Indians. All the rest live in the country places, where they cultivate tobacco, cotton, and sugar, which are sent, with the herb of Paraguay, to Buenos-Ayres, from whence some mercantile articles brought from Europe are received in exchange.

This country was always exposed to the incursions of the Portuguese on the eastern side, and to those of the savages on the north and on the west. It was necessary to adopt some mode of driving back enemies that were mostly implacable. Forts were constructed; lands were appropriated to the maintenance of them; and every citizen bound himself to defend them for a week in every month. These arrangements, anciently made, still subsist. If, however, this service should be disagreeable to any one, or should interfere with his business, he may be freed from it by paying from 60 to 100 livres [from 2l. 10s. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to his fortune.

The part which at present constitutes the province of Buenos-Ayres was originally part of that of Paraguay. It was not separated from it till 1621, and it remained for a long time in the greatest obscurity. A fraudulent trade, which, after the peace of Utrecht, was opened with it by the settlements of the Portuguese at Saint Sacramento, and which enabled it to form fixed connections with Chili and Peru, imparted to it some activity. The misfortune that happened to the squadron under Pizarro, who in 1740 was commissioned to protect the South sea against the forces of Great Britain, increased its population and activity. They both received an addition of extension from those enterprising men who settled in this country, when the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon undertook to fix the too uncertain limits of their territory. At length the war carried on in 1776, between these two

powers, with troops sent from Europe, contributed to give still greater solidity to the colony.

At present, the two banks of the river, from the ocean to Buenos-Ayres, and from Buenos-Ayres to Santo-Fe, are either covered with numerous flocks, or tolerably well cultivated. Corn, maize, fruits, and pulse, every thing, in a word, which supplies the ordinary wants of life, except wine and wood, grows there in great abundance.

Buenos-Ayres, the capital of the colony, unites many advantages. The situation is healthy and pleasant, and the air temperate. It is regularly built. Its streets are wide, and composed of houses that are extremely low; but all of them are embellished with a garden of greater or less extent. The public and private buildings, which fifty years ago were all made of earth, are more solid and commodious, since the natives have learned the art of making brick and lime. The number of inhabitants amounts to thirty thousand. One side of the town is defended by a fortress, with a garrison of six or seven hundred men; and the rest is surrounded by the river. Two thousand nine hundred and forty-three militia, Spaniards, Indians, Negroes, and free Mulattoes, are always ready to join the regulars.

Of the capital of Paraguay, and of the difficulties which navigators must surmount to get there.

The town stands sixty leagues from the sea. The ships get to it by sailing up a river that wants depth; is full of islands, shoals, and rocks, and where storms are more frequent and more dreadful than on the ocean. It is necessary to anchor every night on the spot they come to; and, on the most moderate days, a pilot must go before in a boat to found the way for the ship. After having surmounted these difficulties, the ships are obliged to stop at the distance of three leagues from the town, to put their goods on board some light vessels, and to go to rest, and to wait for their cargoes, at Incenada de Barragan, situated seven or eight leagues below.

This is a kind of village, formed by some huts built with rushes, covered with hides, and scattered about with-

out order. Neither magazines nor subsistence are to be found there ; and the place is inhabited only by a few indolent men, from whom scarce any service is to be expected. The mouth of a river, which is from five to six thousand toises broad, serves it for a harbour. No ships that draw above twelve feet of water can enter it. Vessels that require more depth are obliged to take refuge behind a neighbouring point, where the anchorage, fortunately, is more inconvenient than dangerous.

The insufficiency of this asylum occasioned, in 1726, the town of Montevideo to be built forty leagues below Buenos-Ayres, and upon a bay which is two leagues in depth. It is defended on the side of the land by a well-constructed citadel, and protected on the side of the river by batteries judiciously placed. Unfortunately there are not more than four or five fathoms of water, and the vessels are obliged to run aground. This is no great inconvenience for the merchantmen ; but the men of war perish speedily upon this mud, and are easily warped. Some experienced navigators, on whom nature hath bestowed a spirit of observation, have observed, that, with little labour and expence, one of the finest harbours in the world might have been constructed in the neighbourhood, on the river St. Lucia. In order to effect this, the only thing necessary was to dig away the bank of sand which renders the entrance of it difficult. The court of Madrid will sooner or later be obliged to adopt this plan, since Maldonado, which was their only hope, is at present acknowledged to be one of the worst harbours in the world.

Of the herb of Paraguay, the chief riches of the colony.

THE richest produce that comes from the three provinces is the herb of Paraguay. It is the leaf of a middle-sized tree, which hath not been described or observed by any botanist. The taste is similar to that of mallows, and in shape it resembles an orange tree. It is divided into three sorts. The first, called *caacuy*, is the bud when it just begins to unfold its leaves. This is far superior to the other two, but will not keep so long, and it is therefore difficult to export it

to any distance. The next, which is called *caamini*, is the full-grown leaf stripped of its stalks. If these be left on, it is called *caaguaza*, which is the third sort. The leaves are first roasted, and then kept in pits digged in the ground, and covered with bulls hides.

The mountains of Maracayu, at the east side of Paraguay, furnish the herb that is most esteemed. The tree which produces it grows in the marshy valleys that lie between the hills. The city of Assumption first brought this production, which was the delight of the savages, into repute. The exportation of it procured considerable riches to the town. But this advantage was not of long continuance, for all the Indians of that district were soon lost in the long voyage they were obliged to take. The whole country became a desert for forty leagues round the city; and the inhabitants were obliged to give up this trade, which was the only source of their wealth.

To this first mart succeeded that of Villa Rica, which was nearer to the production by thirty-six leagues. This also soon came to nothing, for the same reason as had occasioned the fall of that to which it had succeeded.

At length, in the beginning of the century, Cunuguati was built, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Assumption, and at the foot of the mountains of Maracayu. It is at present the great market for the herb of Paraguay; but a competition hath lately risen up against it, from a quarter where there was no reason to expect one.

The Guaranis, who at first gathered the herb only in sufficient quantity for their own consumption, collected it, in process of time, for sale. This employment, and the length of the voyage, kept them absent from their colonies for a considerable part of the year. During this interval they were all deprived of instruction. Many of them perished by change of air and fatigue. Some grew weary of this laborious employment, and retired into the woods, where they resumed their former way of life. Besides, the missions, deprived of their defenders, were exposed to the inroads of the enemy. These evils were too numerous. To obviate them, the Jesuits procured seeds from Maracayu, and sowed them in those parts of the land that were most analogous to the soil they were

brought from. They grew up very rapidly, and have not degenerated, at least in any sensible degree.

The produce of these plantations, added to that which grows spontaneously, is very considerable. Part of this remains in the three provinces. Chili and Peru consume annually twenty-five thousand quintals of it, which cost them near two millions of livres [83,333l. 6s. 8d.]

This herb, which the Spaniards and other inhabitants of South America take so much delight in, and to which they attribute so many virtues, is in general use through this part of the New World. It is dried and reduced almost to powder, then put into a cup with sugar, lemon juice, and sweet-scented paste; boiling water is afterwards thrown upon it, and it is drunk off directly, before it hath time to turn black.

Connections of Paraguay with the neighbouring countries and with Spain.

The herb of Paraguay is of no consequence to Europe, which doth not consume any of it; nor do we interest ourselves more about the trade which this district carries on with the other regions of the New World in excellent mules.

This useful animal is generally multiplied upon the territory of Buenos-Ayres. The inhabitants of the Tucuman carry there woods for building, and wax, which they exchange every year for sixty thousand mules of two years old, which formerly cost no more than three livres [2s. 6d.] each, but which now cost from eight to ten [from 6s. 8d. to 8s. 4d.]. They are kept fourteen months in the pastures of Cordova, eight in those of Salta, and are conducted through roads of six, seven, and nine hundred leagues, by herds of fifteen hundred or two thousand, into Péru, where they are sold near Oruro, Cusco, and Guanaca-Velica, at the rate of seventy or a hundred livres [from 2l. 18s. 4d. to 4l. 3s. 4d.], according to the greater or less distance they come from.

Beside this, the Tucuman furnishes to Potosi sixteen or eighteen thousand oxen, and four or five thousand horses, brought forth and reared upon its own territory. This district would supply twenty times as much of both, if it were possible to find a mart for them.

It will perhaps be a matter of more consequence to our merchants to know the route the cargoes take which they send into this part of this hemisphere.

There is seldom any connection between the villages scattered over this region, at a great distance from each other. Beside that it could not be kept up without great fatigue and much danger, it would be of little use to men who have not any thing, or who have scarce any thing to offer or to require. Buenos-Ayres alone was much interested in finding a vent for the merchandize it received from Europe, sometimes openly, and sometimes fraudulently: and it at last succeeded in opening a tolerably regular trade with Chili and with Peru. Originally the caravans, which carried on this traffic, had recourse to the use of the needle to conduct them through the vast deserts they were obliged to traverse; but, in process of time, they have travelled without this instrument, which is so necessary for other purposes of much greater importance.

At present, carriages set out from Buenos-Ayres for their respective destinations. Several of them go together, in order to be able to resist the savage nations which attack them on their march. They are all drawn by four oxen, carry fifty quintals, and travel seven leagues a day. Those which take the route of Peru stop at Jucay, after having gone over four hundred and sixty-seven leagues; and those which are destined for Chili have no more than two hundred and sixty-four to go over to reach Mendoza. The first receive four piastras, or twenty-one livres eight sols [17s. 10d.] per quintal; and the second a price proportioned to the space they have travelled over. These carriages are always followed by a herd of woolly and horned cattle. The travellers who are tired or fatigued with the carriage ride upon the horses; the oxen serve both for food, and also for change in the harness.

The year 1764 was the fortunate period of another useful institution. The ministry had at length determined to dispatch, every two months, from Corunna, a packet-boat for Buenos-Ayres. This was a staple from which it was necessary to send the letters and passengers into all

the Spanish possessions in the South sea. The passage was nine hundred and forty-six leagues to Lima, and three hundred and sixty-four to Saint Yago; and a part of this vast space was occupied by immense deserts. An active and intelligent man contrived, however, to establish a regular post from the capital of Paraguay to the capitals of Peru and Chili, to the great advantage of the three colonies, and consequently of the mother-country.

Paraguay sends several articles of greater or less importance to Spain; but they have all been brought there from neighbouring districts. The only thing it furnishes from its own territory is hides.

When the Spaniards forsook Buenos-Ayres in 1539, in order to go up the river again, they left in the neighbouring fields some horned cattle, which they had brought over from their own country. They multiplied to such a degree, that, when the town was re-established, no one chose to appropriate them. It was afterwards found useful to knock them on the head, in order to sell their hides in Europe. The manner of doing this is remarkable.

A number of hunters on horseback repair to such places as are mostly frequented by the wild bulls. Each huntsman pursues the bull he fixes upon, and hamstringing him with a sharp iron cut in the shape of a crescent, and fastened to a long handle. When the animal falls down, the huntsman attacks others, and disables them in the same manner. After some days spent in this violent exercise, the hunters return in search of the bulls they have disabled, which they slay, carry away the hides, and sometimes the tongues and the fat: the rest they leave to be devoured by wild dogs or vultures.

The price of hides was so low at first, that they cost no more than two livres [1s. 8d.]; though the buyers refused those that had the least defect, because they were subject to the same tax as others that were in the best condition. In process of time, the number of them diminished so much, that it was necessary to give forty-three livres four sols [1l. 16s.] for the large ones; thirty-seven livres sixteen sols [1l. 11s. 6d.] for those of an intermediate size; and thirty-two livres eight sols [1l. 7s.] for the small ones. The government, which saw with regret this branch of

commerce gradually reduced to nothing, forbade the killing of the young bulls. Some active inhabitants collected a great number of heifers in immense parks; and since these innovations have been made, the hides which have all the hair on, and which weigh from twenty to fifty pounds, have been lowered about a third in their price. They all pay eleven livres [9s. 2d.] to government.

From 1748 to 1753, Spain received annually from this colony 8,752,065 livres [364,669l. 7s. 6d.]. The gold that made part of this sum amounted to 1,524,705 livres [63,529l. 17s. 6d.]; the silver to 3,780,000 livres [157,500l.]; and the productions to 3,447,360 livres [143,640l.]. The last article was composed of three hundred quintals of Vicuna wool, which produced 207,360 livres [8640l.]; and of one hundred and fifty thousand hides, which brought 3,240,000 livres [135,000l.]. All this was for the benefit of trade, and none of it belonged to the government.

The mother-country will soon receive from this region other articles of value; both because the colony of Saint Sacrament, through which the riches used to flow, is now taken out of the hands of the Portuguese, and because the Paraguay hath acquired a state of greater importance than that which it enjoyed.

THE immense empire which Castile had founded in South America, was for a long time subordinate to one single chief. The parts that were distant from the centre of authority, were then necessarily abandoned to the caprices, the inexperience, and the rapacity of a multitude of subaltern tyrants. No Spaniard, and no Indian, was mad enough to travel thousands of miles, in order to lay claim to justice, which he was almost certain of not obtaining. The force of habit, which so often stifles the voice of reason, and which governs states with still more absolute sway than it does individuals, prevented men from discerning the true cause of so many calamities. At length the confusion became so general, that what is called the New Kingdom of Granada was detached, in 1718, from

A fortunate innovation, which must improve the state of Paraguay.

this enormous extent of dominion. It still remained much too considerable; and the ministry have again confined it, in 1766, by forming of part of the diocese of Cusco, of the whole of that of La Paz, of the archbishopric of La Plata, of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, of Cuyo, of Tucuman, and of Paraguay, another vice-royalty; the seat of which is at Buenos-Ayres. The government will undoubtedly soon regulate the destiny of these singular missions, which have been rendered equally celebrated by the praises of their panegyrists, as by the satires of their detractors.

Principles on which the Jesuits founded their missions in Paraguay.

AMERICA had been laid waste during the course of a century, when the Jesuits conveyed there that indefatigable activity, which, from their first origin, had made them so singularly remarkable.

These enterprising men could not recall from the tomb the too numerous victims which had been unfortunately plunged into it by a blind ferociousness; they could not drag out of the bowels of the earth the timid Indians whom the avarice of the conquerors obliged daily to descend there. Their tender anxiety was turned towards the savages, whom a wandering life had, till then, preserved from the sword and from tyranny. The plan was to draw them out of their forests, and to collect them into a national body, but at a distance from the places inhabited by the oppressors of the new hemisphere. These views were crowned with more or less success, in California, among the Moxos, among the Chiquitos, upon the river Amazon, and in some other countries. Nevertheless, none of their institutions acquired so great a degree of splendour as that which was formed at Paraguay; because it had for its basis the maxims followed by the Incas in the government of their empire and in their conquests.

The descendents of Manco Capac used to march to their frontiers with armies, which at least knew how to obey, to fight, and to intrench themselves; and who, together with better offensive weapons than those of the savages, had also shields and defensive weapons, which their enemies

had not. They proposed to the nation which they wanted to unite to their government, to embrace their religion, laws, and manners. These invitations were most commonly rejected. Fresh deputies were sent, who urged these matters more strenuously than the former. Sometimes they were murdered; and the savages fell suddenly upon those whom they represented. The troops that were attacked had generally the advantage; but they suspended the fight the instant they had gained the victory, and treated their prisoners so kindly, that they afterwards inspired their companions with an affection for a conqueror so humane. A Peruvian army seldom began the attack; and the Inca hath often been known to forbear hostilities, even after he had experienced the perfidy of the barbarians, and several of his soldiers had been murdered.

The Jesuits who had no army, confined themselves to the arts of persuasion. They penetrated into the forests in search of the savages, and prevailed with them to renounce their old customs and prejudices, to embrace a religion which they did not comprehend, and to enjoy the sweets of society, to which they were before strangers.

The Incas had another advantage over the Jesuits, which was the nature of their religion, calculated to strike the senses. It was a more easy matter to persuade men to worship the sun, which seems to announce its own divinity to mortals, than to adore an invisible God, and to believe doctrines and mysteries which they cannot comprehend. Accordingly, the missionaries had the prudence to civilize the savages in some measure, before they attempted to convert them. They did not pretend to make them christians, till they had made them men. As soon as they had got them together, they began to procure them every advantage they had promised them; and induced them to embrace christianity, when, by making them happy, they had contributed to render them tractable.

They imitated the example of the Incas in the division of the lands into three shares; for religious purposes, for the public, and for individuals; they encouraged working for orphans, old people, and soldiers; they rewarded great actions; they inspected or censured the morals of the people; they practised acts of benevolence; they esta-

blished festivals, and intermixed them with laborious employments; they appointed military exercises, kept up a spirit of subordination, invented preservatives against idleness, and inspired them with respect for religion and virtue: in a word, whatever was valuable in the legislation of the Incas was adopted, or even improved upon, at Paraguay.

The Incas and the Jesuits had alike established such a system of regularity and order, as prevented the commission of crimes, and removed the necessity of punishment. There was hardly such a thing as a delinquent in Paraguay. The morals of the people were good, and were maintained in this state of purity by still milder methods than had been made use of in Peru. The laws had been severe in that empire; they were not so among the Guaranis. Punishments were not dreaded there; and men feared nothing but the reproach of their own conscience.

After the example of the Incas, the Jesuits had established the theocratical government, with an additional advantage peculiar to the Christian religion: this was the practice of confession, which, in Paraguay, brought the guilty person to the feet of the magistrate. There, far from palliating his crime, remorse made him rather aggravate it; and instead of endeavouring to elude his punishment, he implored it on his knees. The more public and severe it was, the more did it contribute to quiet his conscience. By these means, punishment, which in all other places is the terror of the guilty, was here considered as a source of consolation to them, as it stifled the pangs of remorse by the expiation of the guilt. The people of Paraguay had no civil laws, because they knew of no property; nor had they any criminal ones, because every one was his own accuser, and voluntarily submitted to punishment: their only laws were the precepts of religion. Theocracy would be the most excellent of all governments, if it were possible to preserve it in its purity: but to effect this, it would be necessary that religion should teach nothing but the duties of society; that it should consider nothing as a crime but what violates the natural rights of mankind; that its precepts should not substitute

prayers in lieu of labour, vain ceremonies instead of works of charity, or imaginary scruples, to just remorse. This was not entirely the case at Paraguay. The Spanish missionaries had brought along with them too many of their monastic notions and practices. Perhaps, however, so much good had never been done to men, with so little injury.

There were more arts and conveniences in the republics of the Jesuits, than there had been even in Cusco itself, without more luxury. The use of coin was unknown there. The watchmaker, weaver, locksmith, and tailor, all deposited their works in public warehouses. They were supplied with every necessary of life; and the husbandman had laboured for them. The religious institutors, assisted by magistrates who were chosen by the people, attended to the several wants of the whole community.

There was no distinction of stations; and it is the only society on earth where men enjoyed that equality which is the second of all blessings; for liberty is undoubtedly the first.

The Incas and the Jesuits have both inspired men with a reverence for religion, by the dazzling pomp of external ceremonies. The temples of the sun were as well constructed, and as well ornamented, as the imperfect state of the arts and of the materials would allow them to be; and the churches in Paraguay are really very beautiful. Sacred music, that awakened their sensibility, affecting hymns, lively paintings, the pomp of ceremonies; every thing, in a word, conspired to attract and to detain the Indians in these places of divine worship, where they found pleasure blended with the exercises of piety.

It should seem that men must have multiplied considerably under a government where none were idle, or fatigued with labour; where the food was equal in wholesomeness, plenty, and quality for all the citizens; where every one was conveniently lodged and well clothed; where the aged and the sick, the widows and orphans, were assisted in a manner unknown in all other

*Reasons that
have prevented
the increase of
population in
these celebrated
missions.*

parts of the world ; where every one married from choice and not from interest, and where a number of children was considered as a blessing, and could never be burdensome ; where debauchery, the necessary consequence of idleness, which equally corrupts the opulent and the poor, never tended to abridge the term of human life ; where nothing served to excite artificial passions, or contradicted those that are regulated by nature and reason ; where the people enjoyed the advantages of trade, and were not exposed to the contagion of vice and luxury ; where plentiful magazines, and a friendly intercourse between nations united in the bonds of the same religion, were a security against any scarcity that might happen from the inconsistency or inclemency of the seasons ; where public justice had never been reduced to the cruel necessity of condemning a single malefactor to death, to ignominy, or to any punishment of long duration ; where the very names of a tax or a law-suit, those two terrible scourges which everywhere else afflict mankind, were unknown ; such a country must naturally be expected to have been the most populous in the world ; and yet it was far from being so.

This empire, which began in the year 1610, extends from the river Parana, which runs into the Paragua under the 20th degree of south latitude, to the Uragua that falls into the same river towards the 34th degree. On the banks of those two great rivers, which descend from the mountains near Brazil, in the fertile plains that lie between them, the Jesuits had already, in 1676, settled twenty-two colonies ; though no account hath been given of their degree of population. In 1702, there were twenty-nine, consisting in all of 22,761 families, which amounted to 89,491 souls. No account, that can be depended upon, ever made the number of villages amount to more than thirty-two, nor that of the inhabitants to more than 121,168.

These religious legislators have long been suspected of concealing the number of their subjects, with a view of defrauding Spain of the tribute these people had voluntarily submitted to pay ; and the court of Madrid hath discovered some anxiety on that account. An exact in-

quiry hath dispelled those injurious and ill-grounded suspicions. Can it with any probability be supposed, that a society, whose idol was always glory, should, for a mean and sordid interest, sacrifice a sense of greatness adequate to the majesty of an establishment they were forming with so much care and pains?

Those who were too well acquainted with the genius of the society, to charge it with such injurious and illiberal accusations, have pretended that the number of the Guaranis did not increase, because they perished by working in the mines. This accusation, urged above a hundred years ago, hath been propagated by the same spirit of avarice, envy, and malignity, that first invented it. The greater pains the Spanish ministry have employed in search of these hidden treasures, the more they have been convinced that they were all chimerical. If the Jesuits had discovered any such treasures, they certainly would have taken care to conceal the discovery, which, if known, would have introduced every kind of vice; by which their empire would soon have been subverted, and their power totally destroyed.

Others are of opinion, that the oppression of monkish government must have checked the population of the Guaranis. But oppression consists in imposing labour and exacting tribute by compulsion; in arbitrary levies of men or money to supply armies and fleets, destined for destruction; in the violent execution of laws made without the consent of the people, and contrary to the remonstrances of the magistrates; in the violation of public, and the establishment of private, privilege; in the inconsistency of the principles of an authority, which, under pretence of being founded by Divine will on the right of the sword, lays claim to every thing by the one, and commands every thing by the other; which makes use of force to establish religion, and of religion to influence the decisions of justice: this is oppression. But it can never exist where every action is the result of voluntary submission, and proceeds from inclination founded on conviction, and where nothing is done but from choice and full approbation. This is that gentle sway of opinion, the only one, perhaps,

that it is lawful for one man to exercise over another, because it makes those people happy who submit to it. Such, undoubtedly, was that of the Jesuits in Paraguay, since whole nations came voluntarily to incorporate themselves into their government, and none have ever thrown off the yoke. It cannot be pretended that fifty missionaries could have been able to compel a hundred thousand Indians to be their slaves, who had it in their power either to massacre their priests, or to take refuge in the deserts. This strange paradox would be equally rejected by men of a sanguine or of a credulous disposition.

Some persons have suspected that the Jesuits had propagated that love of celibacy among their people, which was so prevalent in Europe in the dark ages of ignorance, and is not yet entirely eradicated, notwithstanding it hath constantly been urged, how contrary it is to nature, reason, and society. But this opinion is entirely without foundation. The missionaries have never even given any idea to their converts of a superstition which was totally improper, and inconsistent with the climate; and would have been sufficient to prejudice them against their best institutions, or to defeat the design of them.

Politicians have further endeavoured to account for the want of population among the Guarinis, from their having no property. The idea under which we consider property, namely, as a source of the increase both of men and subsistence, is an unquestionable truth; but such is the fate of the best institutions, that our errors will often threaten their destruction. Under the law of property, when it is attended with avarice, ambition, luxury, a multitude of imaginary wants, and various other irregularities arising from the imperfections of our governments, and from the bounds of our possessions, either too confined, or too extended, prevent, at the same time, both the fertility of our lands and the increase of our species. These inconveniencies existed not in Paraguay. All were sure of subsistence; consequently all enjoyed the great advantages of property, though deprived, in a strict sense, of the right to it. This privation cannot justly be considered as the reason that hath impeded the progress of population among them.

A mercenary writer, or one who is blinded by his hatred, hath ventured to publish, lately, in the face of the whole universe, that the territory occupied by the Guaranis could not subsist more than the number of men who existed upon it, and that their missionaries, rather than suffer them to extend themselves so as to have an intercourse with the Spaniards, had themselves stopped the progress of population, by persuading, as it is said, their converts to let their children perish, because they would be so many beings predestined to salvation, and so many protectors to them. Man or devil! whichever thou art, hast thou reflected upon the atrociousness and the extravagance of thy accusation? Hast thou any idea of the insult thou hast offered to thy rulers, and to thy fellow-citizens, in supposing that thou shouldst obtain their favour or their esteem by such aspersions? How much must thy nation have degenerated from the dignity and generosity of its character, if it did, not partake of my indignation upon this occasion!

To the chimerical notions we have been refuting, let us endeavour to substitute the real, or the probable causes, of this deficiency of population.

First, the Portuguese of St. Paul, in 1631, destroyed twelve or thirteen communities in the province of Guayra, bordering upon Brazil. These ruffians, whose number did not amount to more than two hundred and seventy-five, could not indeed bring away more than nine hundred of the twenty-two thousand Guaranis that composed this rising colony: but several of them were destroyed by misery and by the sword. Several of them returned to their savage life. Scarce twelve thousand of them escaped upon the borders of the Parana and of the Uragua, where it had been resolved to fix them.

The passion which the devastators had for making slaves was not stilled by this emigration. They pursued their timid victims into their new asylum; and, in process of time, would have dispersed, enslaved, or assassinated, all of them, unless the Indians could be supplied with arms similar to those of their aggressors.

It was a nice matter to make this proposal: for it was a maxim with Spain not to introduce the use of fire-arms among the ancient inhabitants of the other hemisphere,

in the apprehension that they might one day use them themselves to recover their primitive rights. The Jesuits approved of this precaution, as being necessary with nations whose subjection was compelled: but they judged it to be useless with people, who were freely attached to the kings of Spain by such easy bands, that they could be under no temptation of breaking them. The arguments or the solicitations of the missionaries prevailed over opposition and prejudice. In 1639 fire-locks were given to the Guaranis, and this favour delivered them for ever from the greatest of dangers they could incur.

This cause of destruction was succeeded by others of a more obscure nature. The custom had prevailed, to send annually, to the distance of two or three hundred leagues from their frontiers, some of the inhabitants of the villages to collect the herb of Paraguay, for which they were known to have an unfurmountable desire. In these long and fatiguing journeys, several of them perished with hunger and fatigue. Sometimes, during their absence, their plantations, deprived of most of their defenders, were laid waste by wandering savages. These defects were scarce corrected before the missions were afflicted with a new calamity.

An unfortunate concurrence of circumstances brought among them the small-pox; the baneful influence of which was more destructive in this district than in the rest of the New World. This contagion did not diminish, and continued uninterruptedly to heap one victim upon another. Were the Jesuits ignorant of the salutary effects of inoculation upon the borders of the Amazon, or did they, from motives of superstition, decline to adopt a practice, the advantages of which are so well ascertained?

But it was the climate which more particularly stopped the progress of population among the Guaranis. The country they occupied, chiefly on the Parana, was hot, damp, and incessantly covered with thick and immovable fogs. These vapours gave rise, in every season, to contagious disorders; and these calamities were aggravated by the propensities of the inhabitants. Inheriting the voracious appetites which their fathers had brought with them from the midst of the forest, they fed upon green

fruit, and ate meat that was almost raw, while neither reason, nor authority, nor experience, could root out these inveterate habits. The mass of blood being thus corrupted by the air and by the food, it was impossible that a numerous and long-lived offspring should be produced.

IN order to ensure the felicity of the Guaranis, whatever their number were, or might be, their institutors had originally settled with the court of Madrid, that these people should never be employed in the labours of the mines, nor subjected to any vassalage. They soon found that this first stipulation was not sufficient to procure tranquillity to the new republics, and occasioned it to be decreed, that the Spaniards should be excluded from them, under whatever denomination they presented themselves. They foresaw, that if they were admitted as traders, or even as travellers, they would excite commotions in those peaceable retreats, and would introduce vice and every species of corruption. These rapacious and destructive conquerors were the more offended at these measures, as they were approved by prudent men. Their resentment broke out in imputations, for which there was an apparent, and, perhaps, a real, foundation.

Examination of the reproaches made to the Jesuits concerning their missions.

The missionaries traded for the nation. They sent to Buenos-Ayres wax, tobacco, hides, cotton both raw and spun, and received in exchange, vases and ornaments for the temples; iron, arms, toys, some European commodities that were not manufactured in the colony; and metals designed for the payment of the tribute due from the male Indians from twenty to fifty years of age. As far as it is possible to judge, and penetrate into the mystery which hath always surrounded these objects, the wants of the state did not absorb the entire profit of the sales. The rest was secreted for the benefit of the Jesuits. Accordingly, they were traduced in all parts of the world as a Society of merchants, who, under the veil of religion, attended only to their own fordid interest.

This censure could not fall upon the first founders of Paraguay. The deserts through which they travelled

afforded neither gold nor mercantile commodities. In these they only met with forests, serpents, and morasses: sometimes they perished, or were exposed to the most severe torments, and always to excessive fatigue. The hardships they endured with much patience, and the pains they took to induce the savages to quit their roving life, are not to be conceived. They never entertained the idea of appropriating to themselves the produce of a land, which their care only prevented from being a haunt of wild beasts. Their successors may probably have been actuated by less noble and disinterested views; probably they might seek an increase of fortune and power, where they ought to have only sought the glory of christianity and the good of mankind. It was certainly a great crime to rob the people of America, in order to acquire consequence in Europe, and to increase over the whole world an influence already too dangerous. If any thing could diminish our abhorrence of so great a crime, it is, that the happiness of the Indians was never affected by it. They never appeared to desire any thing beyond those conveniences which they generally enjoyed.

Those who have not accused the Jesuits of avarice have censured their institutions in Paraguay, as being the effect of blind superstition. If our idea of superstition be the true one, it retards the progress of population; it devotes to useless ceremonies the time that should be employed in the labours of society; it deprives the laborious man of his property, to enrich the indolent and dangerous recluse; it promotes discord and civil wars for things of little moment; it gives the signal for revolt in the name of God; it frees its ministers from obedience to the laws, and from the duties of society: in a word, it makes the people miserable, and arms the wicked against the virtuous. Have any of these calamities been found among the Guaranis? If their happy institutions be the effect of superstition, this is the only instance in which it ever was beneficial to mankind.

Politicians, who are ever restless and suspicious, seemed to be apprehensive that the republics formed by the Jesuits might one day detach themselves from the power under the protection of which they had been raised. The

inhabitants appeared to them as the best disciplined soldiers of the new hemisphere. They considered them as obedient from a principle of religion, added to the energy of the their new manners, and as fighting with the same zeal that brought so many martyrs to the scaffold, and overthrew so many empires by the arms of the followers of Wodin and Mohammed. But it was their form of government which particularly excited their alarms.

In ancient forms of government, civil and religious authority, which are derived from the same source, and tend to the same end, have always been united; or the one hath been so subservient to the other, that the people could not venture to separate them in idea, and were equally kept in awe by both. Christianity introduced another kind of spirit in Europe, and formed, at its first origin, a secret rivalry between these two powers, the one of arms, the other of opinion. This disposition manifested itself particularly when the barbarous nations of the north made incursions upon the Roman empire. The christians, persecuted by the heathen emperors, hastened to implore the assistance of these foreigners against oppression. They preached to these conquerors a new system of religion, which enjoined to them as a duty to extirpate the established one; and they demanded the ruins of the temples, in order to erect their own sanctuaries upon these magnificent spoils.

The savages freely disposed of what was not their property; they sacrificed to christianity all its enemies and their own; they seized upon the persons of men and upon their lands, and distributed some of them to the church. They demanded tribute; but exempted the clergy from it, because they countenanced their usurpations. Noblemen became priests, and priests obtained the rank of nobility. The great connected the privileges of their birth with that of the priesthood which they embraced. The bishops imprinted the seal of religion on the domains they possessed. From this mixture and confusion of birth with high stations, of titles with estates, and of persons with things, sprang up a monstrous power, which, from the first,

endeavoured to establish itself as distinct from the only true authority, which is that of government; a power, which afterwards attempted even to raise itself above government; but having been unsuccessful in the attempt, hath since submitted to separate itself from it, and to exert its authority in secret over those who were willing to acknowledge it. These two powers have been always so much at variance, that they have constantly disturbed the harmony of all states.

The Jesuits of Paraguay, who were well acquainted with this source of division, have been warned by the mischief their society hath often done in Europe, and have exerted themselves to promote the real happiness of America. They have united both powers in one; which gave them the entire disposal of the thoughts, affections, and faculties of their converts.

Whether the people were happy in these missions, and whether they have regretted their legislators?

DID such a system of government render the legislators formidable? Some persons thought so in the New World; and this opinion was much more prevalent in the Old one: but in all parts, the necessary information was wanting to decide the point. The readiness, perhaps unexpected, with which the missionaries have evacuated what was called

their empire, hath seemed to shew that they were incapable of maintaining themselves in it. They have even been less regretted there than it was thought they would be. It is not that these people had any cause to complain of the negligence or severity of their leaders. An indifference so extraordinary, proceeded undoubtedly from the wearisomeness which these Americans, apparently so happy, must have experienced, during the course of a life too uniform not to be languid, and under a government which, when considered in its true point of view, resembled rather a religious community than a political institution.

How was it possible that a whole nation should live without reluctance under the restraint of an austere law, which is not capable of subjecting a small number of men, although they may have put themselves under its controul

from a spirit of enthusiasm, and from the most sublime motives, without inspiring them with melancholy, and without frowning their tempers? The Guaranis were a species of monks; and there is not, perhaps, a single monk, who at some time or other hath not deserted his habit. Their duties were tyrannically enforced, no fault escaped punishment, and order established its controul in the midst of pleasures. The Guaranis, whose conduct was closely inspected even in their amusements, could not give themselves up to any kind of excess. Noisy mirth and freedom were banished from these melancholy festivals. These manners were too austere. The state of equality to which these people were reduced, and from which it was impossible they should raise themselves, expelled every kind of emulation from among them. One Guaranis had no sort of motive to induce him to excel another. He had acted sufficiently well, when there was no cause of complaint against him, and when he could not be punished for having done ill. Did not also the privation of all property exert some influence over the most tender connections? It is not enough for the happiness of man that he should have what is sufficient for him; he must also have something to bestow. A Guaranis could not be a benefactor to his wife, his children, his relations, his friends, or his countrymen; neither could any of these do good for him. He felt no kind of appetency. If he was without vice, he was also without virtue; he neither loved nor was beloved. A Guaranis with passions would have been the most wretched of beings; and a man without them exists not, either in the midst of forests, in society, or in a cell. There is no passion but that of love, which being irritated and increased by restraint, could possibly find its advantage in them. But can it be supposed that the Guaranis retained nothing of the sense of their savage state of liberty? Let the reader take no account of what hath been written, and reflect only upon the few lines I now shall add. The Guaranis had never any thing but very confused ideas of what they owed to the care of their legislators, while they, in the most lively manner, were continually sensible of their despotism. At the time that they were expelled,

these people readily persuaded themselves that they should be free, and that their happiness would not be diminished by it. All kind of authority is more or less odious; and this is the reason why all masters, without exception, are paid with ingratitude from their servants.

*Preliminary
steps taken by
the court of
Spain for the
government of
these missions.*

WHEN the missions of Paraguay were taken out of the hands of the Jesuits in 1768, they were arrived, perhaps, to the highest degree of civilization to which it is possible to bring recent nations, and which was certainly very superior to every thing that existed in the rest of the new hemisphere. The laws were observed; an exact police was established; the manners were pure; and all the inhabitants were united by brotherly love. All the arts of necessity were improved, and some of those of luxury were known. Plenty was universal, and the public stores were filled. The number of horned cattle amounted to seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand three hundred and fifty-three, that of mules and horses to ninety-four thousand nine hundred and eighty-three, and that of sheep to two hundred and twenty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven, without reckoning other domestic animals.

Authority, which had been hitherto concentrated in the same hands, was divided. A chief, to whom three lieutenants were given, was charged with the government of the country. Every thing that concerned religion was committed to the care of the monks of the orders of Saint Dominic, Saint Francis, and La Merci.

This is the only change that hath been hitherto made in the former arrangements. The court of Madrid certainly wished to examine whether the order that was established was to be maintained or altered? Attempts have been made to persuade them to withdraw the Guaranis from a district rather unwholesome, and not sufficiently fertile, in order to people with them the uninhabited borders of the Rio Plata, from Buenos-Ayres to Assumption. If this plan be adopted, and that the people should refuse to quit the land of their forefathers, they will be reduced

to the necessity of dispersing themselves; if they should accede to the views of Spain, they will no longer form a national body. Whatever may happen, the most beautiful edifice that has been raised in the New World will be overthrown.

But this is enough, and perhaps too much, upon the circumstances and revolutions, more or less important, which have agitated Spanish America during the course of three centuries. It is time to ascend to the principles which directed the foundation of this great empire, and to trace, without malignity as without flattery, the consequences of a system of which antiquity hath not left, and could not possibly leave, any model. We shall begin, by giving an account of the several species of men which are at present collected in this immense region.

We shall not reckon among the inhabitants of the new hemisphere either the commanders who are commissioned to give them laws, or the troops destined to protect and contain them, or the merchants employed in supplying their wants. These several orders of men do not settle in America, but return all of them to Europe after a shorter or a longer stay. Among the persons sent by public authority, there are scarce any, except a few magistrates, and a few subaltern directors, who fix themselves in their distant regions. The law prohibits every citizen from going there without the consent of government; but men who are known, easily obtain this permission, and obscure persons frequently go there clandestinely. Individuals are powerfully stimulated to this emigration, by the hope of making a large fortune; and sometimes also by the certainty of acquiring a degree of consideration which they would not have enjoyed in the place of their origin. It is sufficient to be born in Spain, to obtain distinguished marks of respect; but this advantage is not transmitted. The children that are brought forth in this other world are not honoured with the name of *Chapetons*, as their fathers were; they are simply called *Creoles*.

People who inhabit Spanish America; and first of the Chapetons.

The Creoles.

THIS is the name given to those who are of Spanish issue in the new hemisphere. Many of them descend from the first conquerors, or their immediate successors; and others have had illustrious ancestors. Most of them have purchased or obtained distinguished titles; but few of them have directed the great springs of government. Whether the court thought them incapable of application, or whether they were apprehensive they should prefer the interest of their own to that of the mother-country, they excluded them early from places of trust, and seldom deviated from this system, whether it were a proper or an improper one. This contempt, or this mistrust, discouraged them, and they lost, in the vices arising from idleness, from the heat of the climate, and from the abundance of all things, the remainder of that elevation of mind, of which such great examples had been left them. A barbarous luxury, pleasures of a shameful kind, a stupid superstition, and romantic intrigues, completed the degradation of their character. One road still remained open to the ambition of these colonists, who are in some measure proscribed upon their native land. The court, the army, the courts of justice, and the church, are pursuits of greater or less estimation in Spain, which they are at liberty to follow. A very small number, however, have entered into them, either because their minds are entirely corrupted, or because the distance renders the access to them difficult. Some of less distinguished birth have turned, even in America, their activity and their faculties to the great operations of trade; and these have been the most prudent and the most useful.

The Mestizos.

THE same superiority which the Chateaus affected over the Creoles, the latter assumed over the Mestizos. These are the race proceeding from a European with an Indian woman. The Spaniards, who, at the first period of the discovery, landed in the New World, had no women with them. Some of the most considerable of them waited till women were sent from Europe. Most of them plighted their faith to the most distinguished or the most agreeable girls of the

country. Frequently even they became mothers without being married. The law ordained, that these children, legitimate or illegitimate, should enjoy the same privileges as their fathers; but prejudice placed them in a lower rank. It is scarcely till after three generations, that is to say, when their complexion differs in nothing from that of the white men, who are all very dark, that, in the ordinary course of civil life, they are treated as the other Creoles are. Before they can attain to so flattering an equality, these Mestees, who are everywhere very numerous, and whose species is uninterruptedly renewed, were mostly employed in the mechanic arts, and in the minutest details of trade. When they have acquired a greater share of dignity, they are still obliged to continue the same labours, till some fortunate alliance, or some particular circumstance, enables them to pass their useless days in pleasure and idleness.

SCARCE had the New World been discovered, when Negroes were brought into it, in 1503. Eight years afterwards, a greater number of them was introduced, because experience had shewn that they were infinitely better calculated for all the labours than the natives of the country. The government soon prohibited them, from an apprehension that they would corrupt the Americans, and incite them to revolt. Las Casas, who was deficient in proper notions concerning the rights of mankind, but who was incessantly employed in the relief of the Indians, to whom he was attached, obtained the revocation of a law, which he thought would be injurious to them. Charles V permitted, in 1517, that four thousand of these slaves should be conveyed into the Spanish colonies; and the Flemish courtier, who had obtained the profit of this traffic, sold his privilege to the Genoese.

At the expiration of this grant, this vile commerce ceased almost entirely; but the Portuguese, having become subjects of the court of Madrid, revived it. It fell again, after these people had shaken off the yoke which they bore with so much impatience, and did not recover any activity, till the two nations came to be upon better

terms with each other. At length, the subjects of the court of Lisbon engaged, in 1696, to furnish, in five years time, twenty-five thousand Negroes to their former tyrants; and they fulfilled this engagement with the assistance of their sovereign, who advanced two thirds of the funds required for an undertaking which was then so considerable.

The French, who had just been giving a king to Spain, too lightly took upon themselves, in 1702, the engagements of the Portuguese. Being deficient in settlements on the coast of Africa, little skilled in maritime operations, and having been unfortunate in the course of a long war, they did nothing of what they had so boldly promised.

This contract passed into the hands of the English at the peace of Utrecht. The South-sea company, to whom the British ministry gave it up, engaged to deliver, each of the thirty years that their charter was to last, four thousand eight hundred Africans to the Spanish settlements. They were confined to this number during the five last years of their grant; but all the rest of the time they were allowed to introduce as many as they could sell. They engaged to pay thirty-three piastres and one third, or one hundred and eighty livres [7l. 10s.] for each of the first four thousand Negroes; the other eight hundred were freed from this burdensome tribute, in indemnity for 1,080,000 livres [45,000l.] advanced to the court of Madrid, and which were only to be reimbursed in the course of ten years. This tribute was reduced to half for all the slaves that were not required by the contract. Philip V indemnified himself for this sacrifice, by reserving the fourth part of the profits made by the company. The execution of this treaty was only interrupted by the hostilities which, in 1739, divided the two kingdoms. The peace of 1748 restored to the crown of England all its rights; but the company which represented it were induced, by an indemnity that was offered to them, to give up the short remains of a grant, which they foresaw they should not be allowed to enjoy without considerable restrictions.

Robert Mayne, a merchant of London, succeeded, un-

der a Spanish name, to the association. Such was the dishonesty or the negligence of the agents whom he had settled at Buenos-Ayres, which was become the staple of the trade, that in 1752 he was ruined, and obliged to give up an undertaking, which, if more prudently managed, or more carefully attended to, ought to have yielded very considerable profits.

The resolution was then taken to receive slaves at Porto Rico, which were to pay to government two hundred and sixteen livres [ols.] each, and which, after having defrayed this heavy tax, were freely admitted upon the continent and in the islands. The English, who had treated with the governor of Cuba, fulfilled their engagements punctually, when the court of Madrid thought a change of system would be better calculated for their interest.

In 1765, an association was formed between some Spanish, French, and Genoese commercial houses, settled at Cadiz. This company, which was ill served by its agents, and much loaded with debt, was going to be dissolved, when, in 1773, the ministry thought it prudent and equitable to offer some alleviation of the terms they had at first imposed upon it. The charter was prolonged, and the taxes diminished; and, from that period, the importation of slaves hath acquired fresh activity. They are bought indiscriminately in all places where they can be procured to the best advantage.

Savage Europeans! ye doubted at first whether the inhabitants of the regions you had just discovered were not animals which you might slay without remorse, because they were black, and you were white. You almost envied them the knowledge of God, your common Father. Most horrid thought! But when you had permitted them also to raise their hands and eyes to Heaven; when you had initiated them in your ceremonies and mysteries; made them join in your prayers and offerings, and in the hopes of a future state, afforded by one common religion; when you had acknowledged them to be your brethren; was not the general horror redoubled, at seeing you trample under foot the ties of this sacred consanguinity? You have put them more on an equality with yourselves; and

yet you go to distant parts in order to buy and sell them ! You sell them, too, as you would a base herd of cattle ! In order to repopulate one part of the globe, which you have laid waste, you corrupt and depopulate another. If death be preferable to slavery, are ye not still more inhuman upon the coasts of Africa than you have been in the regions of America ? English, French, Spaniards, Dutch, or Portuguese, let me suppose that I am conversing with one of you about a treaty concluded between two civilized nations ; and that I would ask him, what kind of compensation he imagines may have been agreed upon in the exchange you have made ? He will think it to consist in gold, provisions, privileges, a town, or a province ; while, on the contrary, it consists in a greater or less number of your fellow-creatures, which the one gives up to the other, to dispose of at pleasure. But such is the infamy of this unnatural contract, that it doth not even present itself to the ideas of the contracting parties.

Every thing announces that the court of Spain will shake off the dependence they had upon foreign nations for their slaves. This is the only view they can possibly have had, in requiring of Portugal, in 1771, the cession of two of their islands on the African coast.

Laborious cultivations, and some mines of a particular kind, have employed part of the slaves introduced upon the Spanish continent in the New World. The service of the rich hath been the destiny of the greater number. These have soon become the confidants of their masters' pleasures ; and by this infamous employment they have gained their liberty. Their descendants have allied themselves sometimes with the Europeans, and sometimes with the Mexicans, and have formed the vigorous and numerous race of the Mulattoes, which, as that of the Mestees, but two or three generations later, acquires the colour and rank of white people. Those among them who are still in slavery have assumed a determined superiority over the wretched and poor. This superiority they owe to the favour granted to them by government. For this reason, the Africans, who, in the settlements of other nations, are the enemies of the white people, are become their defenders in the Spanish Indies.

But why should the favour of government be bestowed upon the slave that was bought, in preference to the slave that was conquered? It is, because the injury done to the latter was of more ancient date, and greater than the injury done to the former; that the latter was accustomed to the yoke, and that the former was to be broken to it; and that the slave of a master, whom a system of policy hath made master of a slave, is brought, by this distinction, to take part with the common tyrant. If the African, who is the defender of the white people in the Spanish Indies, hath been their enemy in all other parts, it is because in all other parts he hath always obeyed, and never commanded; it is, because he was not comforted in his situation by the sight of one more wretched than his own! In the Spanish Indies, the African is alternately slave and master; in the settlements of other nations, he is perpetually a slave.

The Indians form the last class of inhabitants, in a country which belonged entirely to their ancestors. The misfortunes of these people began even at the era of the discovery. Columbus distributed lands at first to those who accompanied him, and attached some natives of the country to them in 1499. This arrangement was not approved of by the court, who, three years after, sent Ovando to St. Domingo, to restore these wretched people to liberty. This new commander, barbarous as he was, complied with the will of his sovereign; but the indulgence of the Americans, and the complaints of the Spaniards, soon determined him to put those whom he had set free again into chains, and to add still a greater number to them. But he decreed, that these slaves should reap some advantage from their labour, whether they were employed in the culture of the lands, or the working of the mines. In 1504, this arrangement was confirmed by Ferdinand and Isabella, with a proviso, that the stipend should be regulated by government.

Ancient and present state of the Indians.

The Dominicans, who had just arrived in the colony, were incensed at an arrangement which overthrew all former principles. They refused, in the confessional chair, absolution to those individuals who solicited, or even ac-

cepted, these gifts, which were indiscriminately styled repartitions, or commanderies. They thundered out excommunications from the pulpit against the authors or promoters of these injustices. The exclamations of these monks, so much revered at that time, resounded throughout all Europe, where the custom, which they attacked with so much inveteracy, was again discussed in 1510, and was again confirmed.

In 1516, the Indians found in Las Casas a more zealous more intrepid, and more active protector, than those who had preceded him. His solicitations determined Ximenes, who at that time governed Spain with so much splendour, to send over to America three friars to determine upon this matter, which had already been twice decided. The decrees they pronounced were not such as were expected from their profession. They decided in favour of the commanderies, but excluded from them all the courtiers and favourites who did not reside in the New World.

Las Casas, who had been declared the protector of the Indians by the minister himself, and who, invested with this honourable title, had accompanied the delegates, returned immediately into Spain, in order to devote to public indignation men of a pious profession, whom he accused of having sacrificed humanity to political views. He succeeded in having them recalled, and Figueroa was substituted to them. This magistrate took the resolution to collect, in two large villages, a considerable body of Indians, whom he left entirely at their own disposal. The experiment did not turn out in their favour. The government concluded, from their stupidity and their indolence, that the Americans were children incapable of conducting themselves; and their condition was not altered.

Nevertheless, the clamours of many respectable persons were raised on all sides against these arrangements; and the States of Castile themselves demanded, in 1523, that they should be annulled. Charles V yielded to all these solicitations. He forbade Cortez, who had just conquered Mexico, to give any commanderies, and enjoined them to revoke those he might already have granted. When these orders arrived in New Spain, the repartitions were

already settled as in the other colonies, and the monarch's pleasure was not complied with.

From this, and all other countries subject to Castile, intelligence was constantly received, that no real or useful labours would be carried on in the New World, if the people who were subdued should for a moment cease to be at the disposal of their conquerors. The apprehension of having made the discovery of so rich a hemisphere without advantage, made a great impression upon the ministry: but, on the other hand, the idea of having invaded one half of the globe, merely to reduce the nations to slavery, was another point of view which could not fail of exciting some alarms in the government. In this uncertainty, commanderies were allowed or prohibited at hazard. At length, in 1536, the government adopted the medium of giving a sanction to them for two generations. Although they had been granted only for two years before this period, they were in reality perpetual, since there was not a single instance of the grant not being renewed. The king continued to reserve to himself all the Indians settled in the ports or in the principal towns.

The protector of these wretched people grew indignant at these ordinances. He spoke, he exerted himself, he summoned his nation to the tribunal of the whole universe, and made the two hemispheres shudder with horror. O! Las Casas! thou wast greater by thy humanity, than all thy countrymen were by their conquests. Should it happen in future ages, that these unfortunate regions which they have invaded should be peopled again, and that a system of laws, manners, and liberty, should be established among them, the first statue they would erect would be thine. We would see thee interposing between the American and the Spaniard, and presenting thy breast to the poniard of the one, in order to save the other. We should read, at the bottom of this monument, IN AN AGE OF BARBARIETY, LAS CASAS, WHOM THOU SEEST, WAS A BENEVOLENT MAN. In the meanwhile thy name will remain engraved upon every feeling heart; and when thy countrymen shall blush at the barbarism of their pretended heroes, they will take pride in thy virtues. May these fortunate times not be so far distant as we apprehend they are!

Charles V., enlightened by his own reflections, or prevailed upon by the impetuous eloquence of Las Casas, ordered, in 1542, that all the commanderies which should become vacant, should be indiscriminately re-united to the crown. This decree was not in force in Mexico and Peru, and occasioned a bloody and obstinate war. The government were obliged to annul it three years after; but authority was established with sufficient solidity in 1549, to bid defiance to all complaints, and to be no longer impeded by the fear of insurrections.

At this period, the Indians were freed from all personal services, and the tribute they were to pay to their commanders was regulated. The masters, hitherto so oppressive, were forbidden to reside in the extent of their jurisdiction, and to sleep there more than one night. They were also prohibited from having any dwelling there, from leaving their families, from possessing any lands, from breeding any cattle, and from establishing any manufactures. They were forbidden to intermix in marriage with their vassals, and to take any of them into their service. The person commissioned to collect their taxes must have the sanction of the magistrate, and must give security against any vexations he should be guilty of.

The tax imposed upon the natives of the country, to make their conquerors subsist with a degree of dignity, is not even merely a gratuitous favour. These proud masters are obliged to collect their subjects in a village, to build them a church, and to pay the clergyman appointed to instruct them. They are obliged to fix their residence in the principal town of the province, in which their commandery is situated, and to have always horses and arms in readiness to repel an enemy, whether foreign or domestic. They are not permitted to absent themselves, till they put a soldier, approved by government, in their place.

No material alterations were made in these regulations till 1568. It was then resolved that the commanderies, which, for thirty-two years past, had been granted for two lives, should continue to be given in the same manner; but that those, the revenue of which exceeded ten thousand eight hundred livres [450l.], should be subject

to pensions. All of them were in future to be proclaimed when they became vacant; and supposing the merit of the competitors equal, to be distributed in preference to the heirs of the conquerors, and after them, to the descendants of the first colonists. The court, perceiving that these rewards were more frequently distributed by favour than by talents, or the claim of an ancient origin, ordered, in 1608, that they should be annulled, if the favours granted by the viceroys were not confirmed in six years for Peru, and in five for the rest of America. The chief of the commandery, however, entered into the enjoyment of his post as soon as he was appointed. It was only required of him to secure the restitution of the sums he might have received, if the choice that had been made of him were not ratified at the time prescribed by the ordinances.

At the beginning of the last century, the government appropriated to themselves the third part of the revenue of the commanderies. Soon after this, they took the whole of it into their hands, and forbade their delegates to fill up those that should become vacant. At length, they were all suppressed in 1720, except those that were given in perpetuity to Cortez, and to some hospitals or religious communities. At this period, so remarkable in the annals of the New World, the Indians were dependent only on the crown.

Was this system the best that could possibly be adopted for the interest of Spain, and the felicity of the other hemisphere? Who will be able to solve a problem, in which so many circumstances are complicated? The rights of justice; the sentiments of humanity; the private views of ministers; the sway of the moment; the ambition of the great; the rapaciousness of favourites; the projects of speculative men; the authority of the priesthood; the influence of the manners and of prejudice; the character of the distant subjects; the nature of the climate, of the soil, and of the labours; the distance of places; the tardiness and contempt of the sovereign's orders; the tyranny of governors; the impunity of crimes; the uncertainty of accounts, and of accusations; and such a multitude of other different matters. We need

not therefore be surpris'd at the long uncertainty of the court of Madrid; when, in the centre of European nations, at the foot of the throne, under the immediate inspection of the directors of the state, we see abuses subsisting, and often increasing, on account of the absurdity of measures. The man, with whom they were surrounded, was then taken for the model of the man at a distance; and it was imagined that the same system of legislation which suited the one, was equally adapted to the other. In former times, and, perhaps, even at present, we confound with each other, two beings separated by immense differences, the savage and the civilized man; the man born in the centre of liberty, and the man born in the shackles of slavery. The aversion of the savage for our cities, ariseth from the improper manner in which we have introduced ourselves into his forests.

At present, the Indians who have not been settled in the towns, are all collected in villages, which they are not permitted to quit, and where they form municipal assemblies, over which their cacique presides. To each of these villages a territory of greater or less extent is attached, according to the nature of the soil, and the number of its inhabitants. Part of it is cultivated in common for the public necessities, and the rest is distributed to the families for their private use. The law hath ordained that this domain should be unalienable; some portions of it, however, are, from time to time, allowed to be detached from it, in favour of the Spaniards; but always with an annual charge upon it, for the profit of the sellers, under the inspection of government. There is no institution which prevents the Indians from having lands belonging to them; but they have seldom the power or the inclination to make acquisitions.

As disgrace breaks down all the springs of the mind, one of the causes of this poverty and of this discouragement, must be the obligation imposed upon these people, of being alone devoted to the public labours. The law ordains that they should be paid for this humiliating labour; but the distance from whence they may be brought, and the time they may be detained, depends upon the government of the spot.

Another duty imposed upon the Indians, is to be at the disposal of all the citizens; but merely for the manufactures, and the cultures of primary necessity; and this in rotation only, for eighteen days consecutively, and for a salary settled by the ordinances.

They have still a more burdensome task, and that is the working of the mines. The directors were originally the sole regulators of this task. It was afterwards provided for by statutes, which were frequently varied. At present, no Indians are called to the mines, except to those of Guanaca Velica, and of Potosi, which have particular privileges, who live at the distance of more than thirty miles; they are allowed four reals, or fifty-four sols [about 2s. 3d.] per day; they are detained no longer than six months, and the seventh part of a colony is only employed in them at Peru, and the twenty-fifth part at Mexico. Frequently even there are a less number, because libertinism, cupidity, the expectation of thieving, and, perhaps, other motives, attract there a great number of mestees, mulattoes, and natives.

A tribute which the male Indians, from eighteen to fifty years of age, pay to the government, completes this multitude of calamities. This tax, which was originally paid in provisions, is not the same in all parts. It is from eight to fifteen, twenty, thirty, and forty, livres, [from 6s. 8d. to 12s. 10d.—16s. 8d.—1l. 5s. and 1l. 13s. 4d.] according to the different periods when, at the request of the persons who paid it, it was converted into coin. The custom which prevailed with the government, of requiring always in money the value of the productions, the price of which varies with time and place, introduced these disproportionations, which were greater, and consequently more destructive, in South, than they were in North, America, where the capitation is usually of nine reals, or six livres one sol six deniers [rather more than five shillings.] The fourth part of this tax is distributed to the clergyman, to the cacique, and to the Spaniard, commissioned in each province to prevent the oppression of the Indians, or kept for the purpose of assisting the community in any of its misfortunes. Such is the legal condition of the Indians: but no one can determine how much private injustice adds

weight to a burden already too heavy. That, among the vexations which hath most attracted the notice of government, hath proceeded from the officer, who is called an Alcade at Mexico and a Corregidor at Peru.

This is a magistrate charged, under the inspection of the viceroy, or of the tribunals, with the administration of justice; with the management of the finances, of war, of police, and of every thing that can concern public order, throughout the space of thirty, forty, and fifty leagues. Although the law prohibited him, as well as the other depositaries of authority, from undertaking any trade; yet, from the earliest times, he monopolized all that was possible to be carried on with the Indians under his jurisdiction. As he only remained five years in office, he used to deliver, almost as soon as he got in, the merchandize he had to sell, and employed the rest of his time in collecting in the payments. The oppression became general. The unfortunate natives of the country were always crushed by the enormity of the prices, and frequently by being obliged to take goods of no use to them, but which the tyrant himself had sometimes been compelled to receive from the merchants, who afforded him a long and hazardous credit. Every thing, or almost every thing, was refused to the poor, and those who enjoyed any kind of ease in their circumstances were overburdened. When the payments became due, they were exacted with barbarous severity, by a creditor who is at once both judge and party; and the most heavy penalties were inflicted upon the debtors, who failed either in the voluntary or compelled obligations they had entered into.

The humane and equitable chiefs were sensibly affected with these enormities, which were more atrocious and more frequent in South, than they were in North America. They thought it, however, necessary to tolerate them, from an idea generally entertained, that if the chain which was formed was once to be broken, these indolent and thoughtless people would be in want of clothing, of instruments of agriculture, of cattle necessary for all the labours, and that they would immediately fall into a state of inaction and extreme misery. Some prudent men endeavoured to reconcile interests that were so opposite to

each other; but none of their ideas were found to be practicable. A sure method of lessening the mischief, would have been, to put the magistrates, who went to seek, in another hemisphere, a fortune which their native country refused them, upon a better footing: but the ministry would never consent to this increase of expence. Since the year 1751, the alcades and the corregidors are obliged to fix upon the place of their residence, the goods they have to sell, and the price they mean to put upon them. If they deviate from this rate, which is approved of by their superiors, they are to lose their places, and to restore the quadruple of what they have purloined. This regulation, which is rather strictly attended to, hath in some degree diminished the depredations.

A FORM of government was wanting *Civil government established by Spain in the New World.* for the several people we have been speaking of; and the court of Madrid adopted that which was the most absolute. The Spanish monarchs took all the rights and all the powers into their own hands, and entrusted the exercise of them to two delegates, who, under the title of viceroys, were to enjoy the prerogatives of sovereignty during all the time of their commission. They were attended in their public functions, and even in their private life, with a degree of pomp, which seemed calculated to increase the respect and terror which was inspired by authority. The number of these distinguished offices hath since been doubled, without the least derogation from their dignity. Their conduct, however, as well as that of the inferior agents, was subject to the censure of the council for India, a tribunal erected in Europe, to govern, under the inspection of the monarch, the conquered provinces in the New World.

In these distant countries were established ten courts of justice, appointed to ensure the tranquillity of the citizens, and to settle any differences that might arise among them. These tribunals, known by the name of Audiencias, pronounced definitively upon criminal matters; but causes that were merely civil, and which were more than 10,156 piastrcs, or 54,843 livres [2285l. 2s. 6d.] might be car-

red, by appeal, to the council for India. The privilege granted to these great bodies to make remonstrances to the depositaries of the royal authority, and the still more considerable prerogative given to those of the capitals to fill the duties of the vice-royalty, whenever they were vacant, raised them to a degree of importance, which, as magistrates, they would not have acquired.

Nature of the ecclesiastical government adopted in America.

It seemed more difficult to regulate the ecclesiastical form of government. At the period of the discovery of the New World, all Europe was covered with a veil of darkness, woven, or thickened, by the prejudices which the court of Rome had incessantly diffused, sometimes openly, and sometimes with cunning. These superstitions were more deeply rooted, and more general, in Spain, where the infidels had for so long a time past been the object of their hatred and of their wars. The sovereigns of this kingdom, one would naturally imagine, would have established beyond the seas the bad principles of the pontiffs who gave them another hemisphere; but this was not the case. These princes, more enlightened, as it should seem, than might be expected from the age they lived in, deprived the ruler of Christendom of the privilege of collating to the benefices of the church, and even of the tithes, which the priests had assumed to themselves in all parts. Unfortunately, the prudence that had dictated this system, was not followed by their successors, who founded, or permitted to be founded, too great a number of bishoprics. Numberless churches were constructed, and convents of both sexes multiplied beyond every idea of excess. Celibacy became the ruling passion in a desert country. Metals, which should have been employed in fertilizing the earth, were thrown away upon the churches. The clergy, notwithstanding their ignorance and corruption, obtained the restoration of the greatest part of those oppressive tithes which had been drawn out of their avaricious hands. America seemed now to have been conquered but for them. In the meanwhile, the inferior clergy, these who are in other parts so mild and so re-

spectable, did not find themselves sufficiently opulent. The Indian, whom they were appointed to instruct and comfort, did not dare to appear before them without some present. They indulged him in such of his former superstitions as were of advantage to themselves; as, for instance, the custom of putting a great quantity of provisions upon the tombs of the dead. They set an exorbitant price upon their functions, and had always some pious inventions, which gave them an opportunity of exacting fresh taxes. Such a conduct had rendered their tenets generally odious. These people went to mass as they did to the labours of vassalage, execrating the barbarous strangers who loaded their bodies and their souls with burdens equally weighty.

The scandal became public, and almost general. The secular and the regular clergy, who both of them fulfilled the same ministry, mutually accused each other of these vexations. They first described their rivals as a set of vagabonds, who had withdrawn themselves from the superintendence of their superiors, in order to follow their libertinism with impunity. The latter accused the other of their ignorance and indolence, and censured them for being wholly taken up with the education of their families. We acknowledge with regret, that there was reason for these reproaches on both sides. The court was for a long time disturbed by the intrigues of these two cabals which were incessantly renewed. At length they decreed, in 1757, that the monks should occupy the benefices they held during life, but that they should not be succeeded in them by men of the same profession. This determination, which brings matters again into their natural order, will probably be attended with favourable consequences.

It was a great point, to have regulated, in the first instance, all the great springs of the new empire. It now remained to settle the destiny of those who were to live in it. The sovereign, who thought himself the legitimate possessor of all the lands of America, by right of conquest, and by the concession of the

Distribution of the lands in the New World at the time of the conquest.
Mode of acquiring these possessions at present.

pontiffs, caused some of them, at first, to be distributed among his soldiers, who had fought in the New World.

The foot soldier received a piece of ground of the length of one hundred feet, and of the breadth of fifty, to build upon; one thousand eight hundred and eighty-five toises for garden-ground; seven thousand five hundred and forty-three for his orchard; ninety-four thousand two hundred and eighty-eight for the culture of European corn; and nine thousand four hundred and twenty-eight for that of Indian corn; and all the extent of ground that was necessary to breed ten hogs, twenty goats, one hundred sheep, twenty horned cattle, and five horses. The cavalry man was allowed double the quantity of ground for his buildings, and the quintuple of all the rest.

Soon after towns were constructed. These were not left to the caprice of persons who meant to inhabit them. The ordonnances required that they should be in an agreeable situation, in a wholesome air, on a fertile soil, abounding with waters. They regulated the position of the churches, the direction of the streets, and the extent of the public squares. It was usually some rich and active individual who undertook to build them, after he had obtained the sanction of government. If the whole was not finished at the stipulated time, he lost all the money he had advanced, and was likewise indebted to the treasury 5400 livres [225*l.*]. The other obligations imposed upon him were, to find a clergyman for his church, and to supply him with all that was required to keep up the decency of a regular form of worship. He was also obliged to collect at least thirty Spanish inhabitants, each of whom was to have ten cows, four oxen, one mare, one sow, twenty sheep, one cock, and six hens. When these conditions were fulfilled, the civil and criminal jurisdictions were granted to him in the first instance for two generations, the right of appointing them unicipal officers, and four leagues square of territory.

Part of this great space was taken up in the placing of the city, by the commons, and by the person who undertook the business. The rest was divided into equal portions, which were drawn for by lot, and none of which could be alienated till after five years cultivation. Every citizen

was to have as many lots as he had houses; but his property was never to exceed what Ferdinand had originally granted at Saint Domingo to three horsemen.

Those persons who had possessions in the towns that were already founded, were excluded by law from the new settlements: but this strict regulation did not extend to their children. All the Indians who were not detained elsewhere by engagements which they could not break, were allowed to settle there as servants, as mechanics, or as labourers.

Exclusive of the lands which were secured to the troops, and to the founders of towns, the chiefs of the several colonies were authorized to distribute some to the Spaniards who were inclined to settle in the new hemisphere. This great privilege was taken from them in 1591. Philip II, whose ambition engaged him in perpetual wars, and whose obstinacy would never allow him to put an end to them, was not able to answer so many expences. The sale of the lands in America, which to this period had been given away, was one of the resources that suggested itself to him. His law had, even in some sort, a retroactive effect, in as much as it ordered the confiscation of all that was possessed without a legitimate title, unless the usurper should consent to redeem these possessions. An arrangement so useful in reality, or in appearance, to the treasury, never received any modification at any period, nor hath it yet experienced any.

But it was a more easy matter to bestow lands gratuitously upon some adventurers, or to cede them to such persons at a low price, than to induce them to make them fertile. This kind of labour was despised by the first Spaniards, whom their avidity had led them into the Indies. The slow, laborious, and expensive mode of cultivation, could scarce tempt men, who, in the hope of making an easy, brilliant, and rapid fortune, had braved the waves of an unknown ocean, and the dangers of all kinds that awaited them upon unwholesome and barbarous coasts. They were in haste to enjoy; and the most expeditious way of doing this, was to seize upon the minerals. An enlightened government would have endeavoured to rectify the ideas of their subjects, and to give, as much as

possible, another bent to their ambition. But the direct contrary of this took place; the error of individuals became the policy of the ministry; they were blind enough to prefer treasures that are merely so by convention, the quantity of which could not fail of being diminished, and which must daily lose something of their imaginary price, to riches that are incessantly springing up afresh, and the value of which must gradually increase in all times. This illusion of the conquerors and of the sovereigns threw the state out of the road of prosperity, and formed the manners in America. Nothing was in estimation but gold or silver, accumulated by rapine, by oppression, and by the working of the mines.

*Regulations
made at differ-
ent periods for
the working of
the mines.*

IN the earliest times of the conquest, it was decreed, that the mines should belong to the person who discovered them, provided he had them registered in the tribunal nearest to the spot. The government had at first the imprudence to have the portion of this rich soil, which they had reserved for themselves, searched on their own account; but they soon renounced this ruinous error, and contracted the habit of ceding it to the proprietor of the rest of the mine for a very moderate sum. If these treasures were found in cultivated parts, which scarce ever happened, the person who undertook the mine was to purchase the extent of ground he wanted, or to give up the hundredth part of the ore. Upon barren mountains, the proprietor was more than sufficiently indemnified for the little damage he received, by the value which a new exertion gave to the productions cultivated in the neighbourhood.

From the most ancient times, the mines, of whatsoever nature they were, gave up to the treasury in Spain the fifth of their produce. This custom was carried into the New World; but in process of time the government was obliged to confine itself to a tenth for the gold, and even in 1735, for the silver in Peru. They were also obliged, in general, to lower the price of mercury. Till the year 1761, this necessary agent had been sold for 432 livres [181.] the quintal. At this period it cost no more

than 324 [13l. 10s.] or even 216 livres [gl.] for the mines that were not abundant, or which were very expensive in the working.

Every thing leads us to suppose, that the court of Spain will be obliged, sooner or later, to make other sacrifices. In proportion as the metals grow more common in commerce, they decrease in value, and they represent fewer commodities. This degradation must one day make the best mines be neglected, as it hath successively made the middling ones to have been abandoned, unless the burthen of those who work them be alleviated. The time, perhaps, is not far distant, when the Spanish ministry must be contented with two reals, or one livre seven sols [about 1s. 1½d.] which they receive per mark for the stamp and for the coinage.

The circumstance that might give great weight to these conjectures is, that there are scarce any men, except those whose affairs are in a doubtful or ruinous situation, who venture the taking of a part in the mines. If it should sometimes happen, that a rich merchant should be stimulated to it by an unbounded avidity, he doth it always under the veil of the most impenetrable secrecy. The bold speculator may consent to expose his fortune, but never his name. He is well aware, that, if his engagements were known, his reputation and his credit would be inevitably lost. It is not till his rashness hath been crowned with the most brilliant success, that he can venture to avow the risks he hath run.

When the government shall be obliged to give up the duties they yet receive from the metals, they will still have considerable revenues for the expences of sovereignty. The principal of these ought to have been the tithes, which Ferdinand had compelled the court of Rome to give up to him: but Charles V, from motives which it is not easy to conjecture, deprived himself of them in favour of the bishops, the chapters, the rectors, the hospitals, the building of the churches; in a word, in favour of men and of establishments, which were either too rich already, or soon became so. This prince

scarce transmitted the ninth part of them to his successors. It was necessary that a tribute extorted from the Indians should fill up a void so inconsiderately made in the public treasure. The superior classes of society were not treated with less management; all the New World was subject to the alcavala.

This is a tax levied only upon what is sold by wholesale, and which doth not extend to articles of daily consumption. It comes originally from the Moors. The Spaniards adopted it in 1341, and settled it at the rate of five *per cent.* It was afterwards carried up to ten, and even to fourteen: but, in 1750, arrangements were made, which brought it back to what it had been in the first instance. Philip II. after the disaster of that fleet, so well known by the pompous title of Invincible, was urged, in 1591, by his wants, to require this assistance from his possessions in America. It was at first only at two *per cent.*, and in 1627 it rose to four.

Stamp paper, that mode so wisely invented to secure the fortune of individuals, and which is become, in all parts, one of the principles of their ruin in the hands of the treasury: stamp paper, I say, was introduced, in 1741, into all the Spanish provinces of the New World.

The monopoly of tobacco began to distress Peru in 1752, Mexico in 1754, and in the interval of these two periods, all the other parts of the hemisphere dependent on Castile.

At divers times, the crown hath appropriated to itself, in the New as well as in the Old World, the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, and cards.

The most extraordinary of all imposts, however, is the crusade. It took its rise in those ages of folly and fanaticism, when millions of Europeans went to lose their lives in the East for the recovery of Palestine. The court of Rome revived it in favour of Ferdinand, who, in 1509, wished to attack the Moors of Africa. This tax still subsists in Spain, where it is never lower than twelve sols six deniers [rather more than 6d.], and never higher than four livres [3s. 4d.] A greater sum is paid for it in the New World, where it is only collected every two years, and where it rises from from thirty-five sols to thir-

teen livres [from about 1s. 7d. to 11s. 8d.], according to the rank and fortunes of the citizens. For this sum the people acquire the liberty of obtaining absolution from their confessors, for such crimes as are reserved for the absolution of the pope and the bishops; they acquire the right of eating, upon days of abstinence, some kinds of prohibited food, and a multitude of indulgences for sins already committed, or for those that may be committed in future. The government do not strictly oblige their subjects to take this bull: but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should neglect or disdain it; and there is not, perhaps, in all Spanish America one man sufficiently bold, or sufficiently enlightened, to brave this ecclesiastical censure.

I will not, therefore, address myself to a set of foolish mortals, whom we should in vain advise to shake off the double yoke under which they are oppressed; and I will not say to them, What! do ye not conceive that Providence, which watches over your preservation, in presenting you with food which is proper for you, and in perpetuating incessantly the appetency you have for it, meant undoubtedly to allow you the free use of it? If the Heavens were irritated when you eat of it in a forbidden season, there is no power on earth that could dispense with your obedience. Do you not see that your stupid credulity is imposed upon, and that, by an infamous kind of traffic, a being who is not greater than you are, a creature who is nothing before the face of your common Master, arrogates to himself the right of commanding you in his name, or of freeing you from the observation of his orders, for a piece of money? This piece of money, doth he take it for himself, or doth he give it to his God? Is his God indigent? Doth he depend upon resources, or doth he amass treasures? If in the other life he be a rewarder of virtue, and an avenger of crimes, neither the gold which you have given, nor the absolution which you shall have purchased with that gold, will have any effect upon the scale. If his venal justice should admit of corruption, he would be as vile and contemptible as those who are seated in your tribunals. If his representative had the same power for himself as he hath persuaded you that he hath

for you, he might be the most wicked of mankind with impunity, since there is not any crime which he would not have it in his power to pardon. Neither will I address myself to the subaltern ministers of this proud chief, because they have a common interest with him; and that, instead of answering me, they would light up the stake under my feet. But I will address myself to the chief himself, and to the whole body over which he presides, and I will tell them :

It is time you should renounce this unworthy monopoly, which disgraces you, and which dishonours both the God whom you preach, and the religion which you profess. Simplify your doctrine, and purge it from absurdities. Abandon, with a good grace, all the posts from which you will be driven. The world is too enlightened to be any longer gulled with incomprehensibilities that are repugnant to reason, or to give credit to miraculous falsehoods, being common to all religions, cannot be admitted as proofs for any one. Return to a practicable and social system of morality. Let the reformation of your theology be followed by that of your manners. Since you enjoy the privileges of society, partake of the burdens of it. Do not any longer plead your immunities against the efforts of an equitable ministry, who would wish to bring you back to the general condition of other citizens. Your spirit of intoleration, and the odious means by which you have acquired, and still continue to heap up, riches upon riches, have done more injury to your opinions, than all the arguments of incredulity. Had you been the appeasers of public and domestic troubles, the advocates of the poor, the support of the persecuted, the mediators between the husband and the wife, between fathers and children; had you been, among citizens, the organs of the law, the friends of the throne, and co-operators with the magistrate; however absurd your tenets had been, mankind would have been silent. No one would have ventured to attack a class of men so useful and so respectable. But you have spread divisions over Europe for concerns of the most frivolous nature. All countries have been reeking with blood, and for reasons which at present we blush to think of. If you would restore to your ministry its fer-

mer dignity, be humble; be indulgent, be even poor, if it should be necessary: for so your Founder was. His apostles, his disciples, and their followers, who converted all the known world, were so likewise. Be neither mountebanks nor hypocrites, nor simoniacal, nor dealers in things which you give out as holy. Endeavour to become priests again; that is to say, delegates from the Most High, to preach virtue to men, and to shew them the example of it. And thou, pontiff of Rome, call thyself no longer the servant of the servants of God, unless thou wilt be so. Consider that the era of thy bulls, of thine indulgences, of thy pardons, and of thy dispensations, is past. It is in vain that thou wouldst sell the Holy Ghost, if no one can be found to purchase it. Thy spiritual revenue is continually decreasing, and, sooner or later, it must be reduced to nothing. Whatever the subsidies may be, the nations that pay them are naturally inclined to get rid of them; and the slightest pretence is sufficient. Since from a fisherman thou hast made thyself a temporal prince, become, as all good sovereigns are, the promoter of agriculture, of the arts, of manufactures, of trade, and of population. Thou wilt then have no occasion for a traffic that is scandalous. Thou wilt restore to the labours of man the precious days which thou hast deprived him of; and thou wilt recover our veneration, which thou hast lost.

The finances of the Spanish continent of the other hemisphere were for a long time a mystery to the ministry themselves. The chaos was in some measure cleared up by M. de la Ensenada. Each of the twelve years of his fortunate administration, the crown received from these countries, or from the duties they collected at the departure and at the return of the fleets, 17,719,448 livres 12 sols [738,310*l.* 7*s.* 2*d.*] This resource of government hath since been much increased, both from the value of the new taxes, and from the strictness that hath been observed in the collecting of the old ones. At present the public revenue of Mexico amounts to 54,000,000 livres [2,250,000*l.*]; that of Peru, to 27,000,000 livres [1,125,000*l.*]; that of Guatamala, of the new kingdom of Chili, and of Paraguay, to 9,100,000 livres [379,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] This amounts in all to 90,100,000 livr.

[3,754,166l. 13s. 4d. The local expences absorb 56,700,000 livres [2,362,500l.]; so that there remain for the treasury 34,500,000 livres [1,437,500l.] Add to this sum 20,584,450 livres [857,585l. 8s. 4d.], which they receive in Europe itself upon the articles sent to the colonies, or which are brought from thence, and it will be found that the court of Madrid draws annually 55,084,450 livres [2,295,185l. 8s. 4d.] from its provinces in the New World. But all these riches do not enter into the royal coffers of the mother-country. Part of them is employed in the Spanish islands in America, for the expence of sovereignty, and for the building of ships, or for the purchasing of tobacco.

Destructive principles upon which Spain first founded its connections with the New World.

SPAIN had scarce discovered this other hemisphere, when she conceived the idea of a system unknown to the people of antiquity, but which hath since been adopted by modern nations, that of taking into her hands all the productions of her colonies, and the whole care of supplying them with provisions. In this view the government, not satisfied with forbidding these new establishments, under capital penalties, to hold any foreign intercourse; but they carried their strictness so far, as to render all communication between them impracticable, and to prohibit them from sending any of their ships to the country from which they originally came. This spirit of jealousy soon betrayed itself to the mother-country. The ships, indeed, were at first allowed to set out from different ports; but they were all obliged to return to Seville. The wealth which this preference accumulated in this city, soon enabled it to obtain, that the ships should be dispatched from its harbour, as well as they were compelled to return to it. The river that washes its walls, not being afterwards found considerable enough to receive the ships, which had gradually increased to a certain size, it was the peninsula of Cadiz which became the general staple. All foreign merchants settled in this port, which was become famous, were forbidden to take a direct part in a trade of so lucrative a nature. In vain did they represent, that as they consum-

ed the provisions of the kingdom, as they paid the taxes, and as they encouraged agriculture, industry, and navigation, they ought to be considered as citizens. These reasons were never attended to in a court where custom was the supreme law. These active, opulent, and enlightened men, who for a long time past had alone kept up the connections between the Ancient and the New World, were always obliged, with more disgust and inconvenience than one would imagine, to cover their most trifling transactions under a Spanish name.

The liberty of undertaking voyages to the great settlements that were forming on all sides in the other hemisphere, was even much restrained with regard to the natives themselves. The government took the resolution of regulating, every year, the number of ships that it was thought proper to send, and to fix the time of their setting out. It entered into their system of politics, to render these voyages very unfrequent, and the permission to fit out a vessel became a very signal favour. In order to obtain it, the capital of the empire was filled with intrigues, and corruption was kept up in all the offices.

Under the pretence of preventing frauds, of establishing an invariable order, and of procuring entire safety to the ships that were richly laden, delays, visitations, searchings, sailors, and formalities of every kind were multiplied to such a degree, both in Europe and America, that the useless expences doubled the value of some goods, and enhanced considerably that of others.

The oppression of the customs completed the ruin of every thing. The articles exported to the other hemisphere were subjected to such duties as had never existed in any age, or in any part of the globe. The price even that had been given for them was taxed. The gold, on its return, paid four *per cent.* and the silver nine.

But how was it possible that the court of Madrid should be so grossly deceived with respect to their interests; or still more, how was it possible they should persist in their error? Let us endeavour, if we can, to find out the causes of so strange an infatuation.

Reasons why the court of Madrid persevered in their erroneous system.

The empire of the Spaniards over the New World was established in an age of ignorance and barbarism. All the principles of government were then forgotten; and we need not certainly be surprised, that in the intoxication of their victories, a set of proud conquerors should not have restored knowledge, which had been banished from Europe for ten or twelve centuries past.

At this period of general infatuation, the court of Madrid did not conjecture that the settlements they were forming in another hemisphere would only be useful, in as much as they should produce an encouragement of their agriculture, industry, and navigation. Far from making the colonies subordinate to the mother-country, it was, in some measure, the mother-country that was subordinate to the colonies. Every political economy was either neglected or disdained; and the grandeur of the monarchy was viewed only in the gold and silver of America. The people were seized with the same ambition, and abandoned their native country in multitudes, to go in search of these metals. These immense and continual emigrations, left a void in the population of the principal country, which was not filled up by the resort of foreigners, because they were incessantly driven from it by pride and the spirit of intoleration.

Spain was confirmed, by successes which were maintained rather for a long time, in the false road she had at first marked out for herself. An ascendancy, which she owed to circumstances alone, appeared to her to be a necessary consequence of her administration and her maxims.

The calamities which afterwards invaded this kingdom on all sides might possibly have enlightened it. An almost continued series of wars, some more fatal than others, deprived it of the tranquillity necessary to examine into the defects of a system which had been uninterruptedly pursued with the greatest security.

The knowledge successively acquired, or diffused by other nations, was very well calculated to refute and dissipate the errors of Spain. Whether from pride or jealousy, this nation obstinately rejected the lights it might have obtained from its rivals or its neighbours.

In default of foreign aids, the Spaniards, born with a

spirit of reflection, and with penetrating sagacity, might have discovered many circumstances of consequence to their prosperity. This kind of genius, which was fit for every thing, unfortunately turned itself towards contemplations which could not but increase their mistakes.

To fill up the measure of these misfortunes, the court of Madrid had, from early times, imposed a law upon themselves, to support the measures they had followed, in order that they might not be suspected of having lightly taken a resolution. Events, however disgraceful they were, did not disgust them of these politics in their connections with America; and they were confirmed in them, by the combined or separate suffrages of a multitude of corrupt or dishonest agents, who ensured their own private fortune by the keeping up of universal confusion.

THE mischief, however, was not felt from the first, although some celebrated writers have asserted this with confidence. According to their opinion, Spain, seeing herself the mistress of America, voluntarily renounced her manufactures and her agriculture. Such an extravagant idea never entered into the system of any nation. At the period when the other hemisphere was discovered, Seville was celebrated for its silk manufactures; the woollens of Segovia were esteemed the finest in Europe; and the stuffs of Catalonia found an advantageous mart in Italy and in the Levant. Other openings for trade gave fresh activity to this industry, and to the cultivation of the lands, which is inseparable from it. Had it been otherwise, how is it possible that this monarchy could have invaded so many provinces; sustained so many tedious and bloody wars; paid so many foreign and national troops; equipped such numerous and formidable fleets; kept up division in the neighbouring states, and purchased traitors among them; subverted all nations by their intrigues; and given the impulse to all political events? How could they have been the first, and, perhaps, the only power of the universe?

Consequences which the fatal combinations of the Spanish ministry were attended with even in the mother-country

But all these exertions occasioned an immense consump-

tion of men: several went over into the New World: this other hemisphere, more wealthy and populous, required more merchandize, and hands were wanting for all the labours. Then Spain was furnished with subsistence, and her colonies were supplied with clothing by foreign nations, where specie was still scarce, and, consequently, labour at a moderate price. In vain were they excluded from this traffic by strict regulations. Whether they were friends or foes, they carried it on without interruption, and with success, under the name of the Spaniards, whose honesty always deserved the highest encomiums. The government thought to remedy what they imagined to be an evil, but which was nothing more than the necessary consequence of the state of things, by renewing the ancient prohibition of exporting either gold or silver. At Seville, and afterwards at Cadiz, some bravoës, called *metedores*, carried the ingots upon the ramparts, and threw them over to other *metedores*, who were to deliver them to the boats that came up to receive them. This clandestine trade was never disturbed by excisemen, or by guards, who were all paid to shut their eyes. More strictness would only have served to increase the price of the merchandize, from the greater difficulty of obtaining the value of it. If, in conformity to the rigour of the ordonnances, any delinquent had been seized, tried, and condemned to death, and his property confiscated, such an atrocious act, far from preventing the exportation of the metals, would have increased it; because the persons who had before been satisfied with a moderate gratuity, requiring a salary proportioned to the danger they must incur, would have increased their profits by their risks, and would have made a great deal of money go out, in order that they might have the more for themselves.

Such was the state of Spain, when she herself voluntarily aggravated her calamities by the expulsion of the Moors.

This nation had reigned for a long time almost over the whole of the peninsula. From one post to another, they were successively driven to Granada; where, after a ten years continuance of a bloody war, they were again

forced, in 1492, to submit to the yoke. By the terms of capitulation, they were to be allowed to follow their own form of worship; but the conqueror, under various pretences, soon wished to deprive them of this sacred right; and they took up arms in order to maintain it. Fortune declared itself against these unfortunate Mussulmen; and numbers of them perished by the sword. Others purchased the right of taking refuge in Africa; and the rest were condemned to appear Christians.

This apparent compliance, with which Ferdinand and Charles chose to be satisfied, did not meet with the approbation of Philip II. This persecuting prince required that the Infidels should be really of his religion. In the hope of engaging them to this more certainly, and in less time, he ordered, in 1568, that these people should renounce their idiom, their names, their habits, their baths, their customs, and every thing that could distinguish them from his other subjects. Despotism was carried so far, as to forbid them from changing their residence, without the consent of the magistrate; from marrying, without the leave of the bishop; from bearing arms, under any pretence whatever; and even from having any in their possession. An obstinate resistance must have been the consequence of so blind an act of tyranny. Unfortunately, men who had no leader, no discipline, and no means of carrying on the war, could make none but unavailing efforts against numerous armies, accustomed to carnage, and commanded by experienced generals. The inhabitants of the towns and country places, who had entered into the rebellion, were almost generally exterminated. Servitude became the lot of all the prisoners of both sexes. Those even of the Moors who had remained quietly at home, were conveyed into the interior provinces of the kingdom, where they met with nothing but insults and reproach.

This dispersion, and this humiliation, did not produce the effect that was expected. The cruelties, which were incessantly renewed by a sanguinary tribunal, were not more availing. It appeared to the clergy, that the only way remaining was to expel from the monarchy all these enemies who so obstinately persisted in their doctrines,

This was accomplished in 1610, notwithstanding the opposition of some statesmen, and notwithstanding the still warmer solicitations of the grandees, who kept in their palaces, or on their domain, many slaves of the nation that was persecuted by superstition.,

We find from all accounts, that this proscription deprived Spain of a million of inhabitants. Some authentic pieces, collected by Bleda, a prudent and contemporary writer, shew that this number must be reduced to four hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and fourteen. This was not the whole of the Moors that had escaped the fury of the wars and the fanaticism of the conquerors, or that remained from the emigrations, some times tolerated and sometimes clandestine. The government retained the women that were married to former christians, whose faith was not suspicious to the bishops, and all the children under seven years of age.

In the meanwhile the state lost the twentieth part of their population, and the most laborious part, as the proscribed and persecuted sects will always be. Whatever were the occupations of these people; whether their strength was employed in the fields, in the manufactures, or in the meanest offices of society, it is certain that a great deficiency was made in the labours, as well as in the tributes collected. The burden which had been borne by the infidels fell chiefly upon the weavers. This additional weight drove many of them into Flanders and into Italy; while the rest, without quitting the country, renounced their profession. The silks of Valencia, and the fine wool of Andalusia and Castile, were no longer manufactured by the Spaniards.

The treasury having no more manufacturers to oppress, now oppressed the farmers. The taxes levied upon agriculture were as ill-judged as they were various and excessive. Beside general duties, there were what the financiers call extraordinary duties, which is a mode of levying money upon a particular class of citizens; a kind of tax unprofitable to the state, and ruinous to those who are taxed, and which tends only to enrich the person who hath contrived it. These resources proved inadequate to the urgent necessities of government, and the financiers

were called upon to advance considerable sums. At this period they became masters of the state, and were empowered to farm out the several parts of their lease. This introduced a multitude of agents, and with them numberless restraints and oppressions. The laws which these rapacious men were allowed to enact, were only so many snares to seduce the honest and credulous. In process of time, they usurped the sovereign authority, and found means to elude the royal tribunals, to choose judges for themselves, and to pay them.

The owners of the lands that were oppressed by this tyranny, either threw up their estates, or neglected the improvement of them. That fertile peninsula, which, though subject to frequent droughts, still afforded subsistence to thirteen or fourteen millions of inhabitants before the discovery of America, and had formerly been the granary of Rome and of all Italy, was soon overspread with thorns and briars. The pernicious custom of fixing the price of corn was then adopted; and public granaries were established in every province, which were consequently managed without either skill, care, or honesty. Besides, what advantage could be expected to arise from such precarious resources? How could it possibly enter into any one's thoughts, to lay restraints upon the price of corn, in order to increase the quantity of it; to raise the price of provisions, in order to make them cheaper; or to facilitate monopoly, in order to prevent it!

When once a nation hath begun to decline, it seldom recovers itself. The loss of population, of the manufactures, of trade, and of agriculture, was attended with the greatest evils. While Europe was daily improving in knowledge, and all nations were animated with a spirit of industry, Spain was falling into a state of inaction and barbarism. The duties of the former customs, which were still suffered to remain upon goods passing from one province to another, were carried to such an excess, as to prevent all communication between them. Even the conveyance of money from one province to another was prohibited. In a short time, not the least sign of a road was to be seen. Travellers were stopped at the crossing of

rivers, where there was neither bridge nor boats. There was not a single canal, or one navigable river. People, the most superstitious in the world, with regard to the observance of fast days, suffered their fisheries to decline, and bought fish every year to the amount of twelve millions [500,000.] Except a few ill-built vessels destined for the colonies, they had not a single ship belonging to government in their harbours. Their coasts lay exposed to the depredations of the Barbary corsairs. To avoid these, they were obliged to freight upon foreign bottoms even the *aviso* they sent to the Canary Island and to America. Philip IV, who possessed of all the rich mines of America, at once found all his gold changed into copper, and was reduced to the necessity of making his copper coin bear almost the same value as that of silver.

These were not the greatest grievances of the monarchy. Spain, from an absurd and superstitious veneration for the age of her conquests, scornfully rejected whatever was not practised in those glorious days. The Spaniards saw all other nations growing more enlightened, more exalted, and more powerful; but thought it beneath them to copy after any one of them. An absolute contempt for the improvements and customs of their neighbours, formed the distinguishing character of this people.

The inquisition, that tremendous tribunal, which was at first established, in order to stop the progress of Judaism and of the Koran, had entirely altered the character of the Spaniards. It had accustomed them to reserve, to mistrust, and to jealousy. And, indeed, how should it have been otherwise? When a son could accuse his father, a mother her child and her husband, a man his friend or his fellow-citizen; when mutual accusations were the bent of all the passions; when a man might be seized upon in the midst of his children, and thrown into a dark dungeon, by the satellites, either in the day, or in the night-time; when the crime laid to a man's charge was concealed from him; when a man was compelled to defend himself, and, being in prison for a fault which he had not committed, was afterwards detained and tried for a secret fault which he had avowed; when the trial was carried on, and finished, without confronting the wit-

nesses; when sentence was pronounced, without allowing the accused person to say any thing in his defence: then men accustomed themselves to blood, and to the most atrocious scenes: then their minds were filled with that spirit of fanaticism which displayed itself so cruelly in both hemispheres. Religious disputes occasioned, indeed, no disturbances or ravages in Spain; but the nation remained in a state of the most profound ignorance. Such disputes, though always absurd in themselves, serve, however, to exercise the mind. They induce men to read and reflect, to consult antiquity, study history, and the ancient languages; hence arises criticism, which is productive of true taste. The subject that first excited the exertion of the mind soon becomes of no consequence; books written on controversial points are neglected, but the knowledge they have infused remains. Religious matters are like those active and volatile particles that exist in all bodies fit for fermentation. They first occasion a cloud in the liquor that was before clear, but soon put the whole mass in motion. In this ferment, they fly off, or sink to the bottom; and when the whole is separated, nothing remains but a soft, pleasant, and nutritive fluid. But in the general ferment of theological disputes, all the refuse still continued in Spain. Superstition had so blinded the nation, that they even gloried in their infatuation.

Instead of that energy which could alone animate the several parts of those wide dominions that lay too much scattered, the Spaniards were so slow in their motions, that all business was impeded. Such a variety of forms, precautions, and deliberations, were multiplied to prevent imposition, that they only put a stop to every commercial transaction.

The wars in which the Spaniards were engaged were as ill conducted as their system of politics. A population, which was hardly sufficient for the many garrisons they kept in Italy, in the Low Countries, in Africa, and in the Indies, rendered them incapable of raising an army at home. At the first breaking out of a war, they were obliged to have recourse to foreign troops. The few Spaniards who were to fight along with these mercena-

ries, were so far from being able to manage them, that their own allegiance was frequently shaken by this intercourse. They have often revolted together with the foreign troops, and ravaged the provinces that were committed to their protection.

A regular pay would infallibly have prevented, or soon put a stop to this spirit of sedition. But to provide for the payment of troops, and to keep them in that state of dependance and subordination so necessary to good discipline, government should have suppressed that multitude of useless officers, who, by their salaries and their oppressions, absorbed the greatest part of the public revenue; the most ancient rights of the crown should not have been alienated for a trifling consideration, or suffered to be invaded; nor should the royal treasures have been squandered away, to entertain spies, and to procure traitors in every country. But care should have been particularly taken, that the grandeur of the prince should not have been made to consist in granting pensions and favours to all who had no other claim, but that which they derived from their boldness in asking for them.

This noble and iniquitous way of receiving alms was become general. The Spaniard, naturally generous, having acquired a spirit of pride, disdained the common occupations of life, and aspired after nothing but governments, bishoprics, and the chief employments in the state.

Those who could not attain to these preferments, glorying in their proud insolence, still assumed the style of the court, and maintained as much gravity in their idleness, as a minister who was absorbed in state affairs.

Even the lower class of the people would have thought they defiled their victorious hands by prostituting them to useful labours. They employed themselves carelessly, even in those which were the most creditable, and trusted all the rest to foreigners, who carried fortunes away with them, which served to fertilize or to enrich their own country.

Men born to no property, meanly preferring idle slavery to laborious liberty, eagerly solicited to be admitted into the number of domestics that the great kept in their retinue, with that pomp which magnificently displays the pride of the most useless, and the degradation of the most necessary, class of men.

Those who had too much vanity remaining to live without some distinction, crowded into the convents, where superstitious men had long since provided a convenient retreat for their indolence, and had carried their absurdity so far, as to lavish marks of distinction upon them.

Even the Spaniards who had competent fortunes, languished in a state of celibacy, choosing rather to give up all thoughts of posterity, than to attend to the establishment of it. If some, induced by love and virtuous motives, chose, in imitation of the great, to enter into marriage, they sent their sons, in their earlier years, to be educated in the superstitious manner of the colleges; and from the age of fifteen resigned them to the courtezans. The abilities and strength of these young men being thus vitiated, they were equally enervated by these infamous connections, which they did not even break off when they entered into the sacred ties of matrimony.

Out of this degenerate race were chosen the men who were to hold the reins of government. Their administration was answerable to their education, being a constant scene of idleness and corruption. They seldom discovered any sense of virtue, or principles of equity, or the least desire of promoting the happiness of their fellow-creatures. They thought only of plundering the provinces intrusted to their care, in order to dissipate in idleness and profusion at Madrid the fruits of their extortion. This conduct was always pursued with impunity, though it often occasioned seditions, insurrections, conspiracies, and sometimes revolutions.

Beside these misfortunes, the states that were united to Castile, by marriage or conquest, contributed to complete the ruin of the Spanish monarchy. The Low Countries did not afford a sufficiency to pay the garrisons that were kept to defend them. *Franche Compté* supplied nothing; Sardinia, Sicily, and the Milanese, were even burdensome to government. The tributes of Naples and Portugal were mortgaged to foreigners. Arragon, Valencia, Catalonia, Roussillon, the Balearic islands, and Navarre, pretended they owed nothing to the monarchy but a free gift, which was always settled by their depu-

ties, but seldom to the satisfaction of a rapacious court, exhausted by absurd liberalities.

*Calamities
which the insatiation of the
court of Spain
hath accumulated on its
colonies.*

WHILE the mother-country was declining, the colonies could not possibly flourish. If the Spaniards had understood their true interest, they would perhaps, on the first discovery of America, have been content with establishing an equitable intercourse with the Indians, which would have settled a mutual dependence and reciprocal profits between the two nations. The manufactures of the Old World would have been bartered for the produce of the mines of the New; and wrought iron would have been exchanged for its weight of unwrought silver. A lasting union, the necessary consequence of a peaceable traffic, would have been established without bloodshed or devastation. Spain would equally have been mistress of Mexico and Peru; because any nation that cultivates the arts, and does not communicate the method by which it carries them on, will always have an evident superiority over those to whom it sells its manufactures.

This method of reasoning was not adopted by the Spaniards. The ease with which they had subdued the Indians, the ascendant which Spain had assumed over all Europe, the natural pride of conquerors, their ignorance of the true principles of commerce; all these, and various other causes, prevented them from establishing in the New World a system of government founded upon good principles.

The depopulation of America, was the melancholy effect of this irregularity. The first steps of the conquerors were marked with streams of blood. Astonished as much at their own victories as the savages were at their defeat, and intoxicated with their success, they resolved to extirpate the people they had plundered. Innumerable nations disappeared from the face of the earth at the arrival of these barbarians; and these horrid scenes of cruelty have been ascribed to a thirst of gold, and to a spirit of fanaticism.

But the ferocious disposition natural to man, unrestrained by the fear of punishment, or by any sense of shame, and unawed by the presence of civilized men, might so far conceal from the Spaniards the image of an organization similar to their own (a similarity which is the foundation of all moral duties), as to induce them to treat their newly-discovered brethren as they did the wild beasts of the other hemisphere, and to do it with as little remorse: besides that the cruelty arising from military exploits increases in proportion to the dangers the soldier hath gone through, to those he now endures, or to those he expects: Is he not of a more sanguinary disposition in remote countries than at home; and do not the sentiments of humanity grow weaker, the more distant we are from our native country? It may likewise be conjectured, that the Spaniards, who, on their first landing, were taken for gods, might be afraid of being detected and massacred; that they mistrusted the marks of kindness that were shewn them; that when once they had begun to shed blood, they thought their own safety required that they should not discontinue; that their army, consisting only of a small number of men, being surrounded by an innumerable multitude of natives, whose language they did not understand, and whose customs and manners they were strangers to, was seized with a panic, either well or ill founded.

The Spaniards, the descendants or slaves of the Visigoths, like them, divided among themselves the desert lands, and the men who had escaped their sword. Most of these wretched creatures did not long survive, doomed to a state of slavery worse than death. The laws that were occasionally established in order to alleviate the hardships of their servitude, afforded them but small relief. The savage, proud, and rapacious Spaniards paid as little regard to the commands of a monarch who was too far remote from them, as to the tears of the poor miserable Indians.

The mines proved still a greater cause of destruction. Ever since the discovery of America, the Spaniards had attended only to this species of wealth. In vain did some men of more enlightened understanding exclaim against this insatiation. Let the gold remain where it is, said

they, provided the surface of the earth that covers it can but produce an ear of corn that will make bread, or a blade of grass to feed your sheep. The only metal you really want is iron. Work it into saws, hammers, and ploughshares, but not into weapons of destruction. The quantity of gold requisite for the purposes of exchange is so inconsiderable, that it is unnecessary to accumulate any great stock of it. It is very immaterial whether a hundred ells of cloth, or one pound or twenty pounds of gold, be given in exchange. The Spaniards have acted like the dog in the fable, that dropped the meat out of his mouth, to bite at the image of it in the water, and was drowned in attempting to get it.

Unfortunately the Indians were the victims of this fatal error. Those unhappy men were sent to work at a very great depth underground, where they were deprived of day-light, of a free and wholesome air, and of the comfort of mingling their tears with those of their friends and relations; and were doomed to dig their own graves in those dark mansions, which now contain more ashes of the dead than gold dust. All the nations of the universe being incensed at these barbarities, the Spanish writers endeavoured to prove, that the working of the mines was not attended with any danger: but the evidence of the senses testified the contrary. It was well known that man could not dwell in the obscure caverns of the earth, without suffering some inconvenience with respect to his eyesight; that he could not breathe mercurial, sulphureous, arsenical, and pestilential vapours, without injury to his lungs: that unwholesome air could not be absorbed by the pores of the skin, or swallowed by the mouth, without prejudice to the stomach, and to the humours of the body. But men coming out of the mines presented the image of death under all its forms; a tormenting cough, a hideous atrophy, a melancholy morasmus, with convulsions, contractions, and distortions of the limbs. The miners were observed to have wrinkles, debility, tremblings, and a declining life, at the age of the most vigorous health; and consequently, far from giving any credit to the accounts of the Spaniards, their deceit excited indignation, when their ignorance was not an object of ridicule.

Numbers of the Americans, in order to escape these means of destruction, and to withdraw themselves from other acts of European tyranny, took refuge in the forests, and among inaccessible mountains. In these rough and wild climates, they contracted a ferocious disposition, which frequently distressed their merciless oppressors, and was the cause of much bloodshed.

In some districts, despair was carried so far, that the men, in order not to leave behind them any heirs of their misfortunes, resolved unanimously to have no connection with the women. This abstinence from the most natural desire implanted in human nature, which is the only instance of the kind ever recorded in history, seems to have been reserved to the era of the discovery of the New World, as a perpetual monument of Spanish tyranny. What more could the Americans oppose to this thirst of destruction, than the horrid vow of ceasing to perpetuate their posterity? Thus the earth was stained with the blood of the fathers, and deprived of the succeeding generation.

From this period the country seemed to lie under a curse with respect to these barbarous conquerors. The empire they had founded began to tend to general destruction. Profligacy and corruption made a rapid progress among them. The most important fortresses were suffered to decay: The country was left without arms or magazines. The soldiers, who were neither exercised, fed, nor clothed, became beggars or thieves. The first principles of war and navigation were forgotten, as well as the very names of the instruments made use of in these two necessary arts.

Trade consisted only in the art of cheating. The gold and silver, which were to be brought into the king's coffers, were fraudulently diminished, and reduced to a fourth part of the sum they ought to have produced. All orders of men, corrupted by avarice, united their efforts to prevent a true state of things from being laid before the throne, or to screen those persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the law. The magistrates of every rank and degree always unanimously exerted themselves to support each other in their injustice.

The scene of confusion occasioned by these extortions introduced the fatal expedient of all ill governed states, that of numberless taxes : it seemed as if government had two objects in view, to put a stop to every kind of industry, and to increase oppression.

Ignorance kept pace with injustice. Europe was not then much enlightened. Even the knowledge that began to diffuse itself in this quarter of the globe was rejected by Spain. In the meanwhile, a thicker cloud was spread over America. The most simple notions, upon objects of the greatest importance, were entirely obliterated there.

As ignorance is always favourable to superstition, the ministers of religion, rather more enlightened than the colonists, assumed a superiority over them in the management of all public affairs. Being more secure of impunity, they were always the most forward to break through the laws of justice, and through all rules of morality and decency. The least corrupt among them became traders, and the rest availed themselves of their ecclesiastical power to extort from the Indians all they were possessed of.

The hatred which arose between the Spaniards born in America, and those who came from Europe, completed their ruin. The court had imprudently laid the foundation of these unhappy divisions. The Creoles had been falsely represented as little better than barbarians, and nearly of the same character as Indians. They thought they could not depend upon their skill, courage, or fidelity, and therefore determined to exclude them from all places of trust and profit. This injurious resolution irritated the Creoles. The Spaniards, who were invested with authority over them, were so far from endeavouring to reconcile them, that they studied, on the contrary, to exasperate them by humiliating partialities. This produced an inveterate hatred between these two orders of men, one of which was loaded with favours, and the other stigmatised with disgrace. This animosity hath often broken out in such a manner as to endanger the dominion of the mother-country in the New World. This discord was fomented by the clergy on both sides, who had also been infected with the contagion of these disorders.

It is a pleasing task to us to be able to think, and to write, that the condition of Spain is every day improving. *Spain begins to recover from its lethargy.*

No longer do the nobility affect those airs of independence which sometimes embarrass the government. Men of no rank, but of ability, have risen to the direction of public affairs, which, for too long a time, was confined to persons of high birth. The countries, which are more populous and better cultivated, yield fewer briars and more harvests. From the manufactures of Grenada, of Malaga, of Seville, of Priego, of Toledo, of Talavera, and especially of Valencia, silks are produced which are in some repute, and which deserve it. The manufactures of Saint Ildefonso furnish very beautiful mirrors; those of Guadalaxara and of Escaray supply cloths and scarlets; and those of Madrid, hats, ribands, tapestry, and porcelain. All Catalonia is filled with manufactures of arms and toys, of silk stockings and handkerchiefs, of printed cottons, of common woollen goods, and of gold and silver and other lace. Communications are beginning to be opened between the capital and the provinces, and these magnificent roads are planted with useful or agreeable trees. Canals for watering or navigation are digged, the plan of which, suggested by foreigners, had so long disgusted the pride of the ministry and that of the people. Excellent manufactures of paper; printing executed with much taste; and societies consecrated to arts of elegance and utility, and to the sciences, will sooner or later dispel prejudice and ignorance. These wise establishments will be seconded by the young men whom the ministry send for instruction into those countries, the glory and prosperity of which hath been extended by their knowledge. The erroneous system of tributes, so difficult to correct, hath already undergone very material reformatations. The national revenue, formerly so limited, hath arisen, it is said, to 140,400,000 livres [5,850,000l.] If the terrier, which the court of Madrid is occupied in making since the year 1749, be settled on good principles, and if it be carried into execution, the treasury will again find its resources increase, and the persons who contribute will be relieved.

At the death of the emperor Charles V, the public treasury was so much burthened, that it was deliberated whether it would not be proper to annul so many fatal engagements. These amounted to a thousand millions of livres [41,666,666l. 13s. 4d.] or perhaps more, under the uneasy and turbulent reign of his son Philip. The interest of the sums advanced to government, absorbed, in 1688, all the produce of the taxes; and it then became necessary to have recourse to an entire bankruptcy. The events subsequent to this great crisis were all of them so unfortunate, that the finances fell suddenly into the same state of confusion from which a desperate but necessary resolution had extricated them. In the beginning of the century, a more enlightened administration established a system of order in the recoveries, and a regularity in the expences, which would have liberated the state, had it not been for the révolutions which succeeded each other, with a degree of rapidity which it is difficult to trace. Nevertheless, in 1759, the debts of the crown amounted to no more than 160,000,000 of livres [6,666,666l. 13s. 4d.] which Ferdinand left in his coffers. His successor employed half of this sum in liquidating some debts; the rest of it was consumed in the war of Portugal, in the augmentation of the navy, and in a multitude of expences that were necessary to rouse the monarchy from that languid state in which it had been plunged during two centuries of ignorance and inactivity.

The vigilance of the new government hath not confined itself to the suppression of part of the evils which contributed to the ruin of their possessions in Europe. Attention hath also been paid to some of the abuses which impeded the prosperity of their colonies. Their governors have been chosen with more care, and better superintended. Some of the vices that had insinuated themselves into the tribunals have been reformed; all the branches of administration have been improved; and even the fate of the Indians is become less unhappy.

*Means that
Spain ought to
employ to hasten
her prosperity.*

THESE first steps towards a reformation must be an inducement to the Spanish ministry to hope, that a good form of government may be established, when

the true principles on which it is founded shall be once known, and the proper means made use of to effect it. The character of the nation is not an invincible obstacle to this change, as it is too generally thought to be. Indolence is not so natural to the Spaniards as we imagine. If we look back to those times in which this unfavourable prejudice was first entertained, we shall find that this want of activity did not extend to every thing, and that if Spain was inactive at home, she was not so abroad, but was incessantly disturbing the repose of her neighbours. Her idleness proceeds in some degree from foolish pride. Because the nobility were unemployed, the people imagined it was a mark of nobility to do nothing. They all wanted to enjoy the same prerogative; and the starved, half-naked Spaniard, carelessly sitting on the ground, looks with pity on his neighbours, who are well clothed, live well, work, and laugh at his folly. The one, from a motive of pride, despises the conveniences of life; while the other, from a principle of vanity, endeavours to acquire them. The climate had made the Spaniard abstemious, and indigence hath rendered him more so. The monkish spirit, to which he hath long been subject, makes him consider poverty, which is occasioned by his vices, as a virtue. As he hath no property, he covets none; but his aversion for labour is greater still than his contempt for riches.

That poor and proud people have nothing left of their ancient character, but an immoderate fondness for every thing that hath the appearance of grandeur. They must be flattered with chimerical ideas, and animated with the strongest hopes of glory. The satisfaction they feel in depending on none but the crown, since the abasement of the grandees, makes them receive all that comes from the court with respect and confidence. This powerful influence might be made subservient to their happiness. Some means might be contrived to persuade them that labour is honourable, and the nation will soon become what it was before the discovery of America, in those glorious times, when, without any foreign aid, Spain threatened the liberties of all Europe.

When the imagination of this people is once properly

directed, and they are brought to be ashamed of their haughty spirit of indolence, other evils must be attended to. The most destructive to the bulk of the nation is the want of population. Well-governed colonies will naturally increase the population of the mother-country, which on her part promotes the increase of theirs, by supplying them with advantageous markets for the produce of their industry. It is on this plan, alike interesting to humanity and sound policy, that the more enlightened nations of the Old Hemisphere have formed their settlements in the new one. This wise and noble design hath been universally crowned with success. Spain alone, which had formed her system in a darker age, hath seen her population decrease at home, in proportion as her possessions increased abroad.

When the disproportion between the extent of a territory and its inhabitants is not extreme, the balance may be gradually restored by activity, economy, great encouragements given to matrimony, and a long peace. Spain which, according to the exact account taken in 1768, hath no more than nine millions three hundred and seven thousand eight hundred and four inhabitants of every age and sex, and which doth not reckon in her colonies the tenth part of the individuals that would be necessary to cultivate them, cannot remedy this evil either at home or abroad, without new and extraordinary efforts. To increase the laborious classes of men there must be a reduction of the clergy, who enervate and destroy the state. Two thirds of her military force must be abolished, and these soldiers must be employed in the arts; since the connection with France and the weakness of Portugal no longer render them necessary. The government must apply itself to alleviate the burthens of the people as soon as its possessions in both hemispheres are extricated from that confusion and disorder into which they had been thrown, for these two centuries past, through the effects of indolence, ignorance, and tyranny. But it is first absolutely necessary that the infamous tribunal of the inquisition should be abolished.

Superstition, whatever may be the reason of it, prevails among all nations, whether rude or civilized. It proceeds undoubtedly from the fear of evil, and from the ignorance

of its causes, or of its remedy. At least this alone is sufficient to imprint it in the minds of all men. The calamities of nature, plagues, sickness; unforeseen accidents, destructive phenomena, all the latent causes of pain and death, are so universal on earth, that it would be very surprising if man had not been deeply affected with them in every country and in every age.

But this natural fear must always have increased, or have been magnified, in proportion to ignorance and sensibility. It must have given rise to the worship of the elements that are most destructive to the earth, such as manifest themselves in inundations, conflagrations, and plagues; and to the worship of animals, whether venomous or voracious, but always noxious. Hence too must have arisen the worship of men who have done the greatest injuries to mankind, of conquerors, of fortunate impostors, of the workers of prodigies, apparently good or bad; and the worship of invisible and imaginary beings, supposed to lie concealed in every instrument of destruction. Reflection, and the study of nature, must have intensely lessened the number of these invisible agents, and the human mind must have risen from idolatry to theism; but this last simple and sublime idea will always have remained imperfect and confused in the minds of the vulgar, and mixed with a multitude of errors and fancies.

Revelation had confirmed and perfected the idea of the doctrine of the unity of God; and, perhaps, a more pure religion would then have been established, had not the northern barbarians, who poured in upon the several provinces of the Roman empire, brought along with them their own sacred prejudices, which could not be dispelled but by other fables. Unfortunately, christianity was preached to men incapable of understanding it thoroughly. They would not embrace it, unless it were attended with that external pomp and show in which ignorance delights. Interested motives burthened it, and debased it more and more with other observances, and constantly invented new doctrines and miracles, which were the more revered as they were the less credible. The nations, engaged during twelve centuries in dividing and contesting about the several provinces of an universal monarchy, which one

nation had formed in less than two hundred years, admitted, without examination, all the errors which the priests, after much controversy, had agreed to teach the multitude. But the clergy, too numerous to maintain any unanimity of opinion, had fomented the seeds of division, which must sooner or later be communicated to the people. The time came, when the same spirit of ambition and avarice that actuated the whole church, exerted itself with great animosity against many superstitions that were universally adopted.

As it was from custom that the people had received all those puerile notions which they had suffered themselves to be deluded into, and that they were not attached to them from national principles or party spirit, those who were most interested in supporting them were unable, to defend them, when they were attacked with that steadiness that was calculated to fix the attention of the public. But nothing so much promoted the reformation of Luther and Calvin, as the liberty they granted to every one to examine and determine finally upon the religious principles he had been taught. Though the multitude were incapable of undertaking this discussion, yet every man plumed himself upon having the privilege to determine on a subject in which his most valuable and most important interests were concerned. The commotion was so universal, that the new opinions would in all probability have triumphed totally over the old, had not the magistracy thought it their interest to stem the torrent. Implicit obedience was as necessary for the support of the supreme power as for that of religion, and was the surest foundation of its authority; that power began therefore to be alarmed, lest those who had overturned the old and firm foundations of the Roman hierarchy might next proceed to examine into its own prerogatives. The republican spirit which naturally spread itself among the reformed contributed to increase this distrust.

The kings of Spain, more jealous of their power than other sovereigns, endeavoured to support it, by establishing a more uniform system of superstition. They were not sensible that the opinions of men, concerning an unknown Being, cannot be all the same. In vain did reason ex-

Book VIII. IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

postulate, with those weak monarchs, alleging that no power had a right to prescribe to men what they were to think; that society, in order to support itself, is under no necessity of restraining the freedom of the soul; that to compel men to subscribe to certain articles of faith, is to exact a false oath, which makes a man a traitor to his conscience, in order that he may be a faithful subject; and that a citizen who serves his country is, in a political light, preferable to him who is orthodox to no purpose. These permanent and incontestable principles were not attended to. They were overruled by the prospect of great advantage, and still more by the furious clamours of a multitude of fanatical priests, who hastened to assume the supreme authority. The prince, thus reduced to become their slave, was forced to abandon his subjects to their caprices, to suffer them to be oppressed, and to become an idle spectator of the cruelties exercised against them. From that time, superstitious manners, beneficial only to the priesthood, became prejudicial to society. A people thus corrupt and degenerate were the most cruel of any. Their obedience to the monarch was subordinate to the will of the priest, who oppressed every other power, and was in fact the sovereign of the state.

Inaction was the necessary consequence of a superstition that enervated all the faculties of the soul. The project which the Romans formed from their earliest origin, of becoming masters of the world, showed itself even in their religion. It was Victory, Bellona, Fortune, the genius of the Roman people, Rome herself, that were their gods. A nation that endeavoured to imitate their example, and thought of becoming conquerors, adopted a monkish government, which hath destroyed every prospect of success, and will effectually prevent their restoration either in Spain or America, unless this kind of government be totally subverted, and every idea of the horror it excites obliterated with it. The suppression of the inquisition must certainly hasten this great change; and it is a pleasing expectation to think, that if the court of Madrid will not determine upon this necessary step, they will one day be compelled to it by a humane conqueror, who will insert it as the first article in a treaty of peace, that, *the*

autos-da-fe shall be abolished in all the Spanish dominions both in Europe and America.

This step, however necessary it may be towards the restoration of the monarchy, is not alone sufficient. Though Spain hath employed more art to conceal her weakness, than was necessary to enable her to acquire strength, the world is not unacquainted with the disorders she labours under. They have taken so deep a root, and are of so inveterate a nature, that they cannot be remedied without foreign aids. If she will but submit to accept them, she will soon see her provinces in both hemispheres filled with new inhabitants, who will bring with them numberless branches of industry. The northern and southern nations, actuated by that passion for riches which is the characteristic of the present age, will resort in multitudes to the regions that are thrown open to excite their emulation. The riches of the public will increase in proportion to those of individuals; and those which have been acquired by foreigners will become a national wealth, if they be permitted to enjoy them with that security, satisfaction, and distinction, which may induce them to forget their native country.

Spain would soon see her population increase to the degree she would wish, if she not only admitted persons of her own persuasion, but even encouraged, indiscriminately, all sects to settle among them. This might be done without injury to the principles of religion, and without deviating from maxims of true policy. Well-regulated governments are not disturbed by the diversity of opinions that prevail in them; neither doth christianity, rightly understood, proscribe a liberty of conscience. The truth of these maxims hath been so clearly demonstrated, that they cannot fail of being soon adopted as a rule to all nations that are in any degree enlightened.

When the Spaniards have once procured a sufficient number of men, they will then think of employing them in the most advantageous manner. The anxiety they felt to see the treasures of America pass into the hands of their rivals and enemies, made them imagine that the revival of their manufactures was the only method that could enable them to retain part of those treasures at home. Such of

their writers upon finance as have insisted upon this system, appear to us to be in an error. As long as the people, who are in possession of those manufactures which serve to supply the demands of America, will attend to the preservation of them, those which may be attempted to be established in other parts will scarce be able to vie with them. These manufacturers may possibly procure the materials and workmanship at as reasonable a rate: but some centuries must pass before they can be able to attain to the same degree of expedition and perfection in the work. Nothing could effect this great change, but such a revolution as would convey the best foreign workmen, and the most skilful artists, to Spain. Till this period shall arrive, which does not seem very near, any attempts that are made will not be successful.

We may proceed still farther, and venture to affirm, that though it should be in the power of Spain to procure a superiority in the manufactures respecting articles of luxury, she ought not to do it. A transient success would be productive of total ruin. Let us suppose that Spain can furnish all the commodities that are wanted in her colonies; the immense treasures this trade will bring in, will all centre in home circulation, and the consequence will be, that the coin will sink in value. This plenty of specie will certainly occasion a dearness of provisions, and enhance the price of labour. There will be no proportion between the price Spain must require for her manufactures, and that which the neighbouring nations will sell theirs for. These, being able to afford their commodities cheaper, will oblige the Spaniards to take them, because an exorbitant profit will surmount every obstacle. The Spanish artificers, destitute of employment, will be reduced to the necessity of seeking for it in other places, and Spain will lose both her industry and her population.

Since then it is impossible that the Spaniards should keep the whole produce of the American mines in their own hands, and since they must unavoidably share it with the rest of Europe, they should exert all their policy to preserve the greatest part of it, to make the balance incline in their favour; and in order to render their advantages permanent, they must be satisfied with such as are moderate.

They will secure to themselves this kind of superiority by the practice of the necessary arts, and the plenty and goodness of their natural productions.

The Spanish ministry have been sensible of this truth, but have been deceived in the opinion they entertained that the manufactures were the chief promoters of agriculture. It is certain, however, that they contribute to promote the culture of lands. They are even necessary, wherever the expence of transport puts a stop to the circulation and consumption of the produce, so that the cultivator is at a loss how to dispose of his commodities. But in all other cases, the farmer can succeed without the assistance of manufactures. If he can but dispose of his produce, he is under no concern, whether it be for local consumption, or for trade and exportation, and will go on with his tillage.

Spain annually sells for exportation, in wool, silk, oil, wine, iron, and kali, to the amount of above eighty millions of livres [3,333,333l. 6s. 8d.]. These exports, most of which cannot be replaced from any soil in Europe, will admit of immense augmentation. They will be sufficient, independent of what the Spaniards receive from the Indies, to pay for all the foreign goods that can be consumed in the nation. We grant, that by thus sending their unwrought produce to other countries, they will increase their population, wealth, and power; but they will promote a more certain and more beneficial kind of industry at home. Their political influence will soon claim a relative superiority, and the nation employed in agriculture will soon become greater than that which confines itself to manufactures.

America will greatly increase these advantages; and will be beneficial to Spain, both by her gold and silver, and by her commodities.

We have none but vague notions concerning the quantity of metals and of provisions which the Old World received from the New, in the early periods after the conquest. Our knowledge of those points increases in proportion as we draw nearer to modern times. At present, Spain receives annually, from the continent of America, 89,095,052 livres [3,712,293l. 16s. 8d.] in gold or in silver; and 34,653,902 livres [1,443,912l. 11s. 8d.] in

productions; which makes, in the whole, 123,748,954 livres [5,156,206l. 18s. 4d.] Taking this calculation for a rule, it will be found that the mother-country hath received from its colonies, in the space of two hundred and eighty-seven years, 35,515,949,798 livres [1,479,831,242l. 1s. 6d.]

It must be acknowledged, that a less quantity of productions was received formerly than is at present; but, on the other hand, the mines were more plentiful. If we choose to reckon the metals only, Spain will have received no more than 25,570,279,924 livres [1,065,428,330l. 3s. 4d.]; and we shall then strike out of the calculation the 9,945,669,874 livres [414,402,911l. 8s. 4d.] of productions.

There would be a possibility of increasing this mass of metals and productions. For the first of these objects, it would be sufficient that the government should send over to America some persons skilled in metallurgy, and make the conditions easier on which they allow the working of the mines. But this would be only a transient advantage, since it is undeniable that gold and silver are not to be considered as riches, but only as the representations of them. These signs are indeed very durable, as they ought to be, to answer their destination. But the more they are multiplied, the more they lose of their value, because they serve to represent fewer things. In proportion as they are become more common since the discovery of America, every thing is increased in value twice, thrice, and four times beyond what it was before. The produce of the mines hath constantly decreased, and the expence of working them hath been continually greater. The balance, which inclines more and more to the losing side, may so far destroy the equipoise, that it may be found necessary to drop this source of wealth. But at all events, it will be advisable to render these operations more simple, and to try every possible method to make this labour less destructive to the human race than it hath been hitherto. There is another source of prosperity for Spain, which will be so far from decreasing, that it will daily gather new strength; and that is agriculture.

Such is the important end, which the court of Madrid

must endeavour to compass. If, by placing the metals in that inferior rank which belongs to them, they resolve to lay the foundation of the public felicity on the productions that may be derived from a fertile and immense territory, the new hemisphere will emerge from that state of annihilation in which it was found, and in which it hath been left. The sun, which hath hitherto shone only on uncultivated deserts, will produce universal fertility.

To the number of productions which its rays, assisted with the labour and skill of man, shall bring forth there, we shall add those which at present enrich the islands of the New World, the consumption of which is daily increasing, and which, after having been for a long time objects of luxury, begin now to be considered as articles of indispensable necessity.

The aromatics and spices of Asia, which carry from ten to twelve millions of livres [from 416,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 500,000*l.*] annually out of the monarchy, might be made to thrive there; and there is particular reason to expect this with regard to the cinnamon. It grows naturally in some of the valleys in the Cordeleirias; and by cultivation, perhaps, some of the qualities it wants might be imparted to it.

Several of the provinces of Mexico formerly produced excellent silks, which were manufactured with success in Spain. This source of wealth hath been lost, by the numberless obstructions it hath met with; but it might easily be revived and extended.

The vicuna wool is in great repute among all nations. The quantity they are supplied with is nothing in comparison of the demands for it. The most certain method of increasing this precious wool would probably be, to let the animal that supplies it live, after having taken it away from him.

It would be impossible to enumerate the productions which regions so immense, climates so various, and soils of so different a nature, might supply. Among such a variety of cultivations, some, perhaps, might be found that would suit the Indians, others might probably induce some of the wandering nations to fix. These associations distributed with skill, might also serve to establish com-

munications between colonies that are now separated from each other by immense and uninhabited spaces. The laws, which always lose their force among men too far distant from each other, and from the magistrate, would then be observed. Commerce, which is perpetually interrupted by the impossibility of conveying the merchandize to their destination, would then become more animated. In case of war, the people would be warned of any approaching danger, and would give each other speedy and effectual succours. It must be acknowledged that this new system could not be established without difficulty. These salutary views would be thwarted by indolence, by the climate, and by prejudices: but knowledge prudently distributed, encouragements well managed, and marks of consideration properly bestowed, would overcome, in process of time, all obstacles. The progress of cultivation would be much accelerated, by suppressing the practice now become general, of those majorascos, or perpetual successions, which occasion such a number of idle persons in the country, and which are productive of still greater mischief in the colonies. The first conquerors, and those who pursued their measures, usurped immense districts, or obtained the gift of them. They converted them into an indivisible inheritance for their children; and the younger ones were thus, in some measure, devoted to celibacy, to the cloister, or to the priesthood. These enormous possessions have remained uncultivated, and will still continue so, till some steady and prudent man shall wake upon him to permit, or to order, the division of them. Then the number of proprietors, which is at present so much confined, notwithstanding the great extent of the territories, will be increased, and productions will be multiplied with property.

The labours would advance more rapidly, if foreigners were permitted to take a part in them. The Spanish Indies were indiscriminately shut against them all, even at the period of the discovery. The laws formally prescribed, that the persons who had penetrated into them, in any manner whatever, should be sent back into Europe. Philip II, urged by his wants, authorised, in 1596, his delegates to naturalize the few that had slipped in there,

upon condition that they should pay the stipulated price for this adoption. This kind of market has been frequently renewed, but rather in favour of artists of necessary utility to the country, than for merchants, who, it was supposed, would one day retire with the wealth they had accumulated. The number, however, both of the one and the other, hath always been extremely confined, because it is prohibited to embark any in the mother-country; and that the colonies themselves, whether from motives of mistrust or jealousy, reject them. The advancement of knowledge gives us reason to think that this unfociable spirit will have an end. The government will at length understand what they have to expect from a healthy and vigorous man, between five-and-twenty and thirty years of age; what mischief he doth to the country which he quits, and how acceptable he is to the foreign nations, among whom he transfers his strength and his industry. They will comprehend how strangely stupid it is to make the right of hospitality be purchased by the man who should come to multiply by his useful labours, either the productions of the soil, or the works of the manufactures. They will discern the deep policy of those people, who should make a point of inviting the inhabitants of neighbouring regions to settle in their towns, or in their country-places, or to traverse their provinces. They will find out what sort of tribute should be imposed upon nations who might supply them with workmen, with cultivators, and with consumers; how much the spirit of intoleration which banishes is fatal; what funds of wealth a nation derives from toleration; and how indifferent a circumstance it is to the value of commodities, whether they be produced from the labours of orthodox persons or of heretics, of Spaniards, or of Hollanders. But the greatest encouragements that could be given to the cultivation of the lands, and all the favours which it would be possible to add to them, would be of no effect, without the certainty of an easy and advantageous mart for the productions. M. de la Ensenada first discovered that the exportation of them would be impracticable, as long as the commerce of the New World should be conducted in the manner it had been. Accordingly, notwithstanding

the opposition he met with, and notwithstanding the prejudices he had to combat, he substituted, in 1740, detached vessels to the parade so anciently established, and so highly revered, of galleons and fleets. He was meditating other changes still more advantageous, when an unexpected disgrace stopped him in the midst of his brilliant career.

One half of the good which this bold and able minister had done was annulled in 1756, by the re-establishment of the fleets: but this mischief was partly repaired eight years after, by the setting on foot of the packet-boats, which, from Corunna, were to carry, every month, to the Havannah, the letters destined for the northern colonies; and every two months to Buenos-Ayres, those that were destined for the southern colonies. These vessels, which were of no inconsiderable size, were allowed to load at their departure with European merchandize, and, at their return, with American commodities.

The exportation of metals was forbidden under capital penalties. This absurd prohibition was made a jest of, because it was necessary that foreign commerce should receive the value of the merchandize it had furnished. Ancient governments, which had for the laws the respect they deserve, would not have failed to abrogate one, the observance of which had been shown to be chimerical. In our modern times, when empires are rather conducted by the caprices of the governors, than regulated upon reasonable principles, Spain went no farther, in 1748, than to permit the exportation of gold, and silver, upon condition that a duty of three *per cent.* should be paid to the treasury. Twenty years after, this tax was increased to four *per cent.* although the government was warned, by perpetual frauds, that it was their interest to lower it.

The year 1774 was the period of another fortunate innovation. Till that time, every kind of intercourse between the several parts of the American continent had been rigidly prohibited. Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and the New Kingdom, were all compelled to be strangers to each other. The action and reaction which would have made them all partake of the advantages nature had distributed among them, were considered as crimes, and severely

punished. But what reason can be assigned why this proscription should not have been extended from one town to another, or from one dwelling to a neighbouring one in the same district, from one family to another in the same district? Hath nature traced upon the soil, which men inhabit, any line of limitation? How doth it happen, that, under the same dominion, a place situated at an equal distance from two other places, should be allowed a free exercise of a privilege towards the East, which is refused to it towards the West? Doth not such an edict, properly interpreted, signify, let us forbid every country to cultivate more than is necessary for its own consumption, and ever inhabitant from being in want of any thing beside the productions of his own soil? A free communication was at length opened between these provinces: and the inhabitants were allowed to think themselves fellow-citizens, and to treat each other as brethren.

One law, of the month of February 1778, permits all the ports of Spain to dispatch ships to Buenos-Ayres, and to the South sea. In the month of October of the same year, this liberty hath been granted for the rest of the continent, except for Mexico, which will undoubtedly soon enjoy the same advantage. This will be a considerable step; but it will not be sufficient, as it is supposed, to put a stop to the smuggling trade, which occasions so many clamours.

All the people, whose possessions have been near the Spanish settlements, have endeavoured to appropriate to themselves clandestinely their treasures and their commodities. The Portuguese have turned their views towards the river Plata; the French, the Danes, and the Dutch, towards the coast of Caracoas, Carthagena, and Porto-Bello. The English, who knew and frequented these roads, have found that the cessions made to them by the last treaty have opened to them other ways of obtaining a more considerable share of these rich spoils. All these nations have succeeded in their attempts, by deceiving or bribing the guarda costas, and sometimes by fighting them.

The governors, far from remedying these disorders, encouraged them as much as possible. Several of them

had purchased their posts; most of them were in haste to get fortunes, and wished to be paid for the dangers they had incurred by the change of the climate. There was not a moment to be lost, because it was seldom they were continued in their places more than from three to five years. Among the least dangerous modes they had of acquiring riches, was that of encouraging the contraband trade, or of carrying it on themselves. No person in America exclaimed against a conduct which was favourable to all.

If the complaints of some European merchants reached the court, they were easily silenced by proper gratuities to confessors, mistresses, or favourites. The delinquent not only sheltered himself from punishment, but was also rewarded. Nothing was so well established, or so generally known, as this practice. A Spaniard just returned from America, where he had filled an important post, was complaining to a friend of the injurious reports that were spread concerning the discharge of his trust. *If you are slandered, says his friend, you are undone; but if your extortions are not exaggerated, you have nothing to do but to give up part of your plunder, and you will enjoy the remainder peaceably, and even with credit.*

The fraudulent trade will continue till it hath been made impossible to bear the expences of it, or to brave the dangers to which it exposes: and this can never be done but by lowering the duties with which the Spanish ports have been successively overburdened. Even since the sacrifices made by government in the regulations of 1778, the contraband trader hath an advantage of sixty-four *per cent.* over the fair dealer.

The revolution which a judicious system of policy may bring about will occasion a deficiency, and a very considerable one, in the public treasury: but the distress that would result from it would be no more than momentary. Immense riches would one day be produced from this long expected arrangement of things.

According to the new system, Spain, which hitherto hath furnished annually no more than one thousand seven hundred and forty-one tons of wine and brandy, by which he cultivators had not got one million of livres [41,666l.

13s. 4d.]. will now send ten or twelve times as much. This exportation would fertilize an uncultivated territory, and would disgust Mexico, as well as some other provinces of the New World, of the bad liquors they are used to consume, on account of the dearth of those that have crossed the seas.

The manufactures, which the impossibility of paying for those which came from the old hemisphere hath caused to be established, would not support themselves. It would have been the highest act of tyranny to put them down by authority, as some inconsiderate, corrupt, and despotic, ministers have not scrupled to propose; but nothing would be more reasonable than to bring them into disrepute with the persons who now use them for clothing, by offering them, at a price suitable to their circumstances, linens and stuffs, that would be more agreeable to their taste or to their vanity. Then the consumption of European merchandize, which doth not exceed annually six thousand six hundred and twelve tons, would be doubly increased, and in process of time much more.

The hands which are employed in manufacture would be transferred to agriculture, which is at present much confined. The ports, however, of all nations are open to their commodities. Several of them might perhaps object, that Spain should make the most of her islands, because such an improvement would necessarily occasion an evident injury to her colonies; but they are all desirous that she should bring more of the productions of her continent to market, because most of them are necessary, and cannot be replaced by others.

This new arrangement of things would be equally favourable to the mines. Those which have been neglected, from their not being able to pay for the mercury and other articles would be opened again. Those, the working of which hath not been interrupted, would be followed up with more activity, and with greater means. The plenty of metals would open fresh markets to industry, which even the ablest men do not think of.

The Americans, become more rich and more happy, would have more confidence in government. They would readily consent to pay taxes, the nature and levy.

ing of which can only be properly regulated on the spot, and from a mature consideration of the character and customs of the people. These tributes, however trifling they may be supposed to be, would do more than fill up the deficiency occasioned in the public coffers by the lessening of the duties.

The crown, enjoying a more considerable revenue, would no longer abandon their provinces to the rapaciousness of their agents. They would lessen the number of them, pay those they retained in a proper manner, and compel them to respect the rights of the people and the interests of government. To think it impossible that this spirit of justice should be established, would argue an ignorance of the resources of a well managed authority. Campillo succeeded in it, during his austere ministry, although the governors of America at that time had contracted the habit of plunder, and that their appointments were not sufficient to maintain the dignity which their rank seemed to require.

It must be acknowledged, that the freedom of trade between all Spain and America, hath been reckoned a chimera. The harbours of this peninsula are, as it has been said, so poor, that whatever steps may be taken, that of Cadiz will remain in the sole possession of this monopoly. This would undoubtedly happen, if the ancient system should only be departed from in this point: but, if the new plan be directed by the principles already established, and already practised among commercial nations, it will be found that there are in most of the ports of this kingdom funds sufficient for these undertakings. These armaments will even soon be multiplied, because the moderate rate of the freight, and of the duties, will allow them to send common merchandize, and to receive in return commodities of small value. In process of time, the navigation of the mother-country, with its colonies on the continent, which at present employs no more than from thirty to thirty-two ships every year, would receive so great an increase, that the boldest speculators could not venture to fix the limits of it.

It hath been supposed, with more foundation, that as soon as the ports of America should be open to all the

ports of the monarchy, and that no kind of oppression would exist in the customs, trade, when freed from these shackles, would occasion unlimited emulation. The avidity and imprudence of the merchants, give reason to suspect this confusion; which might perhaps turn out to advantage. The colonists, encouraged by the cheapness, to the acquisition of enjoyments which they had been never able to procure, will have other wants, and consequently would devote themselves to other labours. If even the excess of the competition would be an evil, it could never be any thing more than a temporary one. To endeavour to prevent this commotion, by laws destructive of every good, is to attempt the prevention of a fortunate revolution, by a continual system of oppression.

But the objection which had been most thought of in the court of Madrid, hath been, it seems, that all the European nations would find their trade increase by these arrangements. This is certainly true. But would not Spanish industry be equally encouraged, since, when freed from the duty which foreign merchandize would continue to pay on entering the kingdom, it would preserve all its advantages? Would not the government still collect the duties they might have thought proper to leave upon these productions? Would not their navigators still gain their freight? Would not their merchants be the agents of this commerce? Would not their subjects of the New World obtain at a cheaper rate every thing that is conveyed to them? It is, perhaps, a fortunate circumstance for this power, to be obliged to share with other people the supplying of its American possessions. If it were otherwise, the maritime powers would exert their utmost efforts to deprive it of them. Whether they would succeed or not, is a point which remains to be examined.

Inquiry whether the Spanish empire be founded upon a solid basis in the New World.

THE Dutch were the first people who ventured to turn their arms against Peru. They sent a small Squadron thither in 1643, which easily took Baldivia, the only fortified port of Chili, and the key to those peaceful seas. Their navigators already possessed, in imagination, the trea-

saues of those rich countries, till their expectations were disappointed by the appearance of famine and disease. The death of their favourite chief increased their anxiety, and the troops that were sent against them from Callao threw them into total despair. The idea of the distance they were at from their native country, deprived them of all their courage, and the fear of falling into the hands of a nation whose hatred they had so often experienced, determined them to re embark. If their perseverance had been greater, they would probably have preserved their conquests till the arrival of the succours that would have been sent from the Zuyder Zee, when their first success came to be known.

Such was the opinion of those Frenchmen, who, in 1595, united their riches and their efforts to go and plunder Peru, and to form a settlement on that part of the coast of Chili which had been neglected by the Spaniards. This scheme was approved by Lewis XIV, who to facilitate the execution of it, granted six men of war. The squadron proceeded very fortunately, under the command of the brave De Génes, till it got towards the middle of the straits of Magellan. Success was thought to be near at hand, when the navigators, obstinately repulsed by contrary winds, and assailed with every possible calamity, were obliged to return to Europe. These adventurers, still thirsting after riches and dangers, were intending to form a new association, when the course of events united the interests of the two crowns.

The English had turned their attention with avidity towards these countries; before other people. They were tempted by the mines as early as the year 1624; but the weakness of the prince who then reigned, proved the ruin of a considerable association formed for this great purpose. Charles II resumed this important project, and sent Sir John Narborough to reconnoitre those latitudes that were so little known, and to endeavour to open some communication with the savages of Chili. That monarch was so impatient to know the success of the expedition, that when he was informed of the return of his admiral to the Downs, he got into his barge and went to meet him at Gravesend. Though this first attempt had been of no advantage,

the British ministry were not discouraged. The elevation of the duke of Anjou to the throne excited a general ferment. England, which had put itself at the head of the confederacy formed to deprive this prince of the throne, was victorious in all parts, but was obliged to purchase this glory at a very dear rate. The nation was groaning under the oppression of taxes, while the treasury had contracted immense engagements. It seemed difficult to fulfil them, at the same time to continue the war, when the idea was suggested of a company which should have the exclusive privilege of trading to the South seas, upon condition that they should liquidate the national debt. Such was the opinion they entertained of the riches of Peru, and of the great fortunes that might easily be made there, that foreigners, as well as the people of the country, were eager to lend their money to this undertaking. The direction of it was given to Lord-high-treasurer Oxford, the author of the project, and he employed, in the expences of the state, funds that were destined for a very different purpose.

Then the shares of the new company fell into the utmost disrepute; but they soon rose again. At the peace, the court of London obtained from that of Madrid, that the South-sea company should fulfil its destination. The trade of Peru was formally given up to them. They were quietly enriching themselves, when a bloody war changed the situation of affairs. A squadron under the command of Anson was sent, instead of the ships of those rapacious merchants which frequented these seas. It is probable he would have executed the whole of his terrible commission, had he not been prevented by the misfortunes that beset his squadron, in being obliged, from ill-concerted measures, to double Cape Horn at an improper and dangerous season.

Since the last peace, the French in 1764, and the English in 1766, have undertaken to form a settlement not far from the coast of Patagonia, or in fifty-one degrees thirty minutes of southern latitude, in three islands, which the former have called Malouine, and the latter Falkland islands. Spain, alarmed at seeing foreign nations in these latitudes, easily obtained from the court of Versailles the

sacrifice of their feeble colony : but the warmest representations produced no effect upon the court of London, which had not the same motives of attention and complaisance. The ministry on both sides grew warm. Port Egmont, recently occupied, was suddenly attacked, and taken without resistance. The two hemispheres were again going to be deluged with blood, if the aggressors had not at length determined to restore a post, which they ought not to have seized upon, at time when negotiations were opened to examine into the rights of the two crowns. England hath since engaged, by a verbal agreement of the 22d January 1771, to suffer this feeble, useless, and expensive settlement gradually to decay. Accordingly, in the month of May 1774, there remained no more than five-and-twenty men upon it, when it was evacuated, leaving an inscription to certify to posterity, that these islands had belonged, and had not ceased to belong, to Great Britain. These navigators, attentive to the dignity of their nation, insulted, at their departure, the rival power. It is from motives of condescension, and not of fear, that they are willing to desist from their claims. But when they promise eternal duration to their empire, they forget that their grandeur may disappear as rapidly as it hath risen. Of all the modern nations, what remains will there be in the annals of the world ? The names only of a few illustrious personages, of a Christopher Columbus, of a Descartes, and of a Newton. What a number of petty states, all ridiculously aspiring to the great destinies of Rome !

Without the assistance of this staple, and indeed without any, Anson thought that the empire of the Spaniards in the Pacific ocean might be attacked with advantage. According to the plan of this celebrated navigator, twelve men of war, sent from Europe with three or four thousand troops, would direct their course towards the South sea. They would procure refreshments at Bahia, at Rio Janeiro, at St. Catherines, and throughout all the Brazils, where a strong desire prevails of humbling the Spaniards. The repairs that might become necessary, would be executed with safety upon the desert and uninhabitable coast of Patagonia, at Port Desire, or St. Julian. The squa-

dron would double Cape Horn, or would go through the straits of Magellan, according to the different seasons of the year. If they should chance to separate, they would meet again at the desert island of Socoro, and then attack Baldivia with their united force.

This fortress, the only one that covers Chili, being carried by a sudden and impetuous attack, what service, for the defence of the country, could be expected from enervated and unexperienced citizens, against troops inured to discipline and military exercises? What could they do against the Araucos, and other savages, always disposed to renew their cruelties and their ravages?

The coasts of Peru would make still less resistance. They are all defended only by Callao, where a bad garrison of six hundred men would soon capitulate. The reduction of this famous port would open the way to Lima, which is no more than two leagues off, and incapable of making any defence. The feeble succours that could be sent to the two cities from the inland parts, where there are no soldiers, would not save them; and the squadron would easily intercept any that might come from Panama by sea. Panama itself, which is surrounded only by a wall, without a ditch or any outworks, would be obliged to surrender. The garrison, continually weakened by detachments that must be sent to Chagre, to Porto-Bello, and to other posts, would be unable to repulse the most trifling force.

Anson was of opinion, that the coasts being once subdued, the rest of the empire would soon be obliged to submit. This idea was founded upon the effeminacy, cowardice, and ignorance of these people in the management of arms. According to his informations, a bold enemy would have had nearly as much advantage over the Spaniards, as they themselves had over the Americans at the period of the discovery.

Such were, thirty years ago, the ideas of one of the greatest seamen England ever had. But we may imagine that he would not talk in this style at present. The court of Madrid, roused by the humiliations and misfortunes of the last war, have sent well-disciplined troops into Peru, and have intrusted the fortified places to ex-

perienced commanders. The spirit of the militia is entirely changed in this part of the New World. What, perhaps, was possible, is now no more so. An invasion would more particularly become a chimerical idea, if, in that distant region, the land forces were supported by a proportionate maritime strength. We shall even venture to affirm, that the junction of these two forces would infallibly expel the flag of all other nations from these roads.

The operations of the squadron should not be limited, either to the fighting of the enemy, or to the keeping of them at a distance. The ships of which it would consist might be usefully employed in producing, or in collecting upon these coasts, the articles which either do not grow there, or which are lost from the difficulty of exportation. These encouragements would probably awaken the colonists from the lethargic state in which they have continued for three centuries. When they were assured that the produce of their cultures would reach Panama without expence, and would there be embarked upon the Chagre, to be conveyed into Europe, at a very moderate rate, they would feel themselves inclined to labours, the reward of which would no longer be doubtful. This activity would increase, if the court of Madrid would resolve to dig a canal, of five leagues, which would complete the communication between the two seas, already so much advanced by a navigable river. The general good of nations, and the advantage of commerce, required, that the isthmus of Panama and the isthmus of Suez should be open to navigation, and should draw the limits of the world nearer to each other. Oriental despotism, and Spanish indolence, have for too long a time deprived the globe of so considerable a benefit.

If from the South we go no to the North sea, we shall find that the Spanish empire is established there, from the Mississippi to the Oroonoko. There are, throughout this immense space, many inaccessible shores, and a still greater number where it would be useless to land. All the ports that are considered as important, such as Vera Cruz, Chagre, Porto-Bello, Carthagena, and Puerto-Cabello, are fortified, and some of them are so upon good

principles. Experience, however, hath shewn, that none of these places are impregnable. They might, therefore, be forced again : but of what service would this success be ? The conquerors, who would find it impossible to penetrate into the inland countries, would be confined in fortresses, where an air, which is dangerous in all seasons, and fatal during six months of the year, to men who are accustomed to a temperate climate, would sooner or later bring them to the grave.

If even, contrary to all probability, the conquest should be completed, can it be imagined that the Spanish Americans, who from taste, idleness, ignorance, habit, and pride, have an excessive attachment to their religion and to their laws, would not break, at one time or other, the chains that had been imposed upon them ? If, to prevent this revolution, it should be resolved to exterminate them, this cruel expedient would be as great a folly in politics, as it would be horrible in morality. The nation that had been guilty of this excess of barbarity, could not reap any advantage from its new possessions, without sacrificing to them its population, its activity, its industry, and, in process of time, all its power.

These various obstacles to the invention of Spanish America, had, as it is said, suggested in England, during the last hostilities, the idea of a system astonishing to vulgar minds. The project of this power, which was then mistress of all the seas, was to seize upon Vera Cruz, and to fortify itself there in a very strong manner. It would not have been proposed to Mexico to submit to a foreign yoke, for which it was known to have too great an aversion ; but the plan was to detach that region from the mother-country, to make it the arbiter of its own destiny, and to leave it at liberty, either to choose a sovereign of its own, or to form itself into a republic. As there were no troops in the country, the revolution was infallible ; and it would equally have taken place in all the provinces of this vast continent, which had the same motives for desiring it, and the same facility of carrying it into execution. The efforts of the court of Madrid, to recover its rights, would have been unavailing, because Great Britain took upon herself to repel them, upon

condition that the new states should grant her an exclusive trade, but upon terms infinitely less unfavourable than those by which they had for so long a time been oppressed.

If it were true that such ideas had ever seriously engaged the attention of the cabinet of London, they must have renounced these ambitious views, since the court of Madrid have taken the resolution to keep regular and European forces in their possessions in the New World. These forces will contain the nations, and repel the enemy, strengthened as they are at present with a respectable navy.

As soon as the Spaniards had discovered another hemisphere, they thought of appropriating to themselves every part of it. To give some eclat to their administration, the chiefs of the great settlements already formed, were continually undertaking new enterprises; and private persons, passionately pursuing the same kind of fame, generally followed these brilliant projects. The calamities inseparable from a career so little known, had not yet altered this active and indefatigable courage, when some bold and enterprising navigators ventured to direct their course towards regions, forbidden to every other nation, except that which had conquered them. The success which attended this boldness, convinced Philip II that it was time to set bounds to his ambition; and he renounced acquisitions, which might expose his arms or his fleets to insults. This timid, or perhaps only prudent policy, was attended with more important consequences than had been foreseen. The spirit of enthusiasm was at an end, and that of inactivity succeeded to it. A new race of men was formed in the Indies. The people sank into superb effeminacy, and those who governed them no longer attended to any thing but the accumulation of riches; and the dignities that accompanied them, which had formerly been reserved to talents, to zeal, and to services, were now purchased. At this period a stop was put to navigation, both in America and in Europe.

A few vessels only, ill built, ill armed, ill fitted out, and ill commanded, were dispatched from the ports of the mother-country. Spain could not be awakened from its lethargy, either from the terrible blows which it received

from its enemies, or with the ruinous extortions it experienced from its allies.

At length, after two centuries of total inactivity, the docks are again revived. The Spanish navy hath acquired real strength. It consists, at the time of our writing, of sixty-eight ships of the line, carrying from one hundred and fourteen to sixty guns, and five of these are upon the rocks; and of eighty other ships, carrying from fifty-six to twelve guns. There are fifty thousand seamen upon its lists, a great number of whom serve in the armaments fitted out by government. Many of them are also employed in the merchantmen of Biscay, of Majorca, and of Catalonia. Some are wanted for about a hundred small vessels, regularly destined for the American islands, where so few were formerly sent. They will multiply still more, when the voyages to the continent of the other hemisphere shall be undertaken with all the freedom, which the first regulations seem to announce. The seas, which separate the two worlds, will be covered with robust, active, and intelligent men, who will become the defenders of their country's rights, and will render her fleets formidable.

Spanish monarchs, ye are intrusted with the happiness of the most brilliant parts of the two hemispheres. Shew yourselves worthy of so glorious a destiny. In fulfilling this august and sacred duty, ye will repair the injuries done by your predecessors and by their subjects. They have depopulated a world which they had discovered; they have put millions of mankind to death. Their conduct hath been still more atrocious, not only in enslaving them, but also in reducing those whom their sword hath spared to the condition of brutes. Those whom they have slain, have suffered only for an instant, while the wretches whom they have permitted to live, must have often envied the fate of their murdered brethren. Posterity will not forgive you, till harvests shall arise in those fields which you have manured with so much innocent blood; and till those immense spaces which you have laid waste shall be covered with happy and free inhabitants. If ye would know the period in which you may perhaps be absolved of all your crimes, it will be when you shall

revive, in idea, some one of the ancient monarchs of Mexico and Peru, and placing him in the midst of his possessions, shall be able to say to him, BEHOLD THE PRESENT STATE OF YOUR COUNTRY, AND OF YOUR SUBJECTS; INTERROGATE THEM, AND FORM YOUR JUDGMENT OF US.

BOOK IX.

Settlements of the Portuguese in the Brazils. The Wars they have sustained there. Produce and Riches of that Country.

A NATIONAL spirit is the result of a great number of causes, some of which are permanent, and others variable. This part of the history of a people is perhaps the most interesting, and the least difficult to investigate. The permanent causes are to be found on the portion of the globe which they inhabit; the variable ones are assigned in their annals, and manifested by the effects which they have produced. While these causes act in opposition to each other, the nation is in a state of insanity, and doth not begin to recover its proper understanding, till the time when its speculative principles coincide with the nature of its situation. Then it is, that it advances rapidly towards that splendour, opulence, and felicity, to which it may be allowed to aspire from a free use of its local resources.

Whether the Europeans have been well acquainted with the art of founding colonies.

But this national spirit, which ought to preside in the counsels of the people, though it be not always to be found there, scarce ever regulates the actions of individuals. They have interests of their own, and passions which torment and blind them; and there is scarce any one who would not raise his prosperity upon the public ruin. The capitals of empires are the centre of the national spirit, that is to say, the places where it displays itself with the greatest energy in words, and where it is the most completely neglected in actions. I except only some unre-

quent instances, where the general safety is at stake. In proportion as the distance from the capital increases, this mask detaches itself; it falls off on the frontiers; and, between one hemisphere and another, is totally lost.

When a man hath crossed the line, he is neither an Englishman, a Dutchman, a Frenchman, a Spaniard, nor a Portuguese. He preserves nothing of his country, except the principles and prejudices which give a sanction to his conduct, or furnish him with an excuse for it. Servile when he is weak, and oppressive when he is strong; eager to acquire wealth, and to enjoy it; and capable of all the enormities which can contribute most speedily to the completion of his designs; he is a domestic tiger again let loose in the woods, and who is again seized with the thirst of blood. Such have all the Europeans indiscriminately shewn themselves in the regions of the New World, where they have been actuated with one common rage, the passion for gold.

Would it not have been a more humane, more useful, and less expensive plan, to have sent into each of those distant regions some hundreds of young men and women? The men would have married the women; and the women the men of the country. Consanguinity, the tie that is the most speedily formed, and the strongest, would soon have made one and the same family of the strangers and of the natives.

In this intimate connection, the savage inhabitant would soon have understood that the arts and sciences conveyed into his country were very conducive to the improvement of his destiny. He would have entertained the highest opinion of the persuasive and mild instructors brought to him by the sea; and he would have given himself up to them without reserve.

From this fortunate confidence peace would have arisen, which would have been impracticable, if the new comers had presented themselves with the imperious and authoritative tone of masters and usurpers. Commerce is established without difficulty among men who have reciprocal wants; and they soon accustom themselves to consider as friends and as brethren those whom interest or other motives have brought into their country. The Indians would have

adopted the European form of worship, because a religion becomes universal among all the inhabitants of an empire, when the government leaves it to itself, and when the folly and intolerant spirit of the priests doth not convert it into a principle of discord. In like manner, civilization follows from the propensity which urges every man to improve his situation, provided there be no desire to compel him to it by force, and that these advantages be not presented to him by suspicious strangers.

Such would be the effects that would be produced in a rising colony by the allurements of the most imperious of the senses. Let there be no arms and no soldiers; but a multitude of young women for the men, and numbers of young men for the women. Let us examine what the Portuguese have done in Brazil by pursuing contrary methods.

Brazil is an immense continent, bounded on the north by the river of the Amazons, on the south by the river Plata, on the east by the sea, and on the west by morasses, lakes, torrents, rivers, and mountains, which separate it from the Spanish possessions.

When, and by whom, Brazil was discovered.

If Columbus had continued his course to the south, when he came to the entrance of the Oroonoko in 1499, he could not possibly have missed the Brazils; but he chose to steer to the north-west, that he might not go too far from St. Domingo, the only settlement belonging to the Spaniards in the New World.

Peter Alvarez Cabral had the honour of discovering the Brazils the following year by a fortunate chance.

How doth it happen that this is the case in almost all discoveries; and that chance hath always more share in them than ingenuity? It is because chance is ever employed, while the human understanding is checked by indolence, changes its objects through inconstancy, reposes itself through lassitude or tedium, and is thrown into a state of inactivity by a number of moral, natural, domestic, or national causes. Most discoveries are therefore owing to chance, or to that infinite number of men, who are always in motion, and whose attention is constantly en-

gaged on all the objects that surround, or strike them, oftentimes without any design of gaining information, or of making those discoveries, but merely because they make use of their senses.

To avoid falling in with the calms on the coast of Africa, Cabral kept so far out at sea, that he came within sight of an unknown land lying to westward. He was driven thither by stress of weather, and anchored on the coast in the 15th degree of south latitude, at a place which he called Porto-Seguro. He took possession of the country, but made no settlement in it, and gave it the name of Santa Cruz, which was afterwards changed for that of Brazil, because the Brazil wood was the most valuable production of that country to the Europeans, who used it in dyeing.

As this country had been discovered in going to India, and as it was doubtful whether it was not a part of that country, the same name was given to it, because the Spaniards had imagined that it might be referred to those countries they had previously discovered. All the Europeans, however, distinguished them by the appellation of West Indies. This name was afterwards extended to all the New World, and the Americans were very improperly called Indians.

Thus it is that the names of places and things, accidentally given by ignorant men, have always perplexed philosophers, who have been desirous of tracing the origin of these names from nature, and not from circumstances merely incidental, and oftentimes quite foreign to the natural properties of the things denoted by them. Nothing can be more strange, for instance, than to see Europe transplanted into America, and there regenerated, as it were, in the names and forms of our European cities, and in the laws, manners, and religion of our continent. But sooner or later the climate will resume its influence, and reinstate things in their proper order, and with their original names, though with those vestiges of the change they have undergone, which a great revolution always leaves behind it. Is it not probable, that, in three or four thousand years hence, the history of America at this present period will be as confused, and as inexplicable to

its inhabitants, as the history of Europe, previous to the rise of the Roman republic, is obscure to us? Thus it is that men, the knowledge they have acquired, and the conjectures they have formed, either with respect to events that are passed, or to future transactions, are all subject to the laws and motions of nature, which pursues her own course, without paying the least regard either to our projects or to our opinions.

Nothing can afford us a more convincing proof of this great truth, than the imprudence and uncertainty of all the designs and actions of men even in their most important undertakings, the blindness with which their inquiries are pursued, and more especially the improper use they make of their discoveries. As soon as the court of Lisbon had ordered a survey to be taken of the harbours, bays, rivers, and coasts of Brazil, and was convinced that the country afforded neither gold nor silver, they held it in such contempt, that they sent thither none but condemned criminals and abandoned women.

Account of the first inhabitants conveyed by Portugal into the Brazils.

Two ships were sent every year from Portugal, to carry the refuse of the kingdom to this new world, and to bring home parrots, and woods for the dyers and cabinetmakers. Ginger was afterwards added, but was soon prohibited, lest it should interfere with the sale of the same article from India.

Asia was then the object that attracted all men. It was the road to fortune, to power, and to fame. The great exploits of the Portuguese in India, and the wealth they brought from thence, gave their nation such a superiority in all parts of the world, that every individual wished to partake of it. The enthusiasm was general. No person, indeed, went over voluntarily to America; but those unfortunate men, whom the inquisition had doomed to destruction, were added to the convicts already transported thither.

There never was a stronger and more inveterate hatred than that which the Portuguese have always entertained against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this national

antipathy, which is of so long a standing that its origin cannot be traced, and so confirmed that it can never be expected to cease, they have borrowed most of their maxims from a neighbour, whose power they dreaded as much as they detested its manners. Whether from a similarity of climate and temper, or from a conformity of circumstances, they have adopted the worst of its institutions, they could not imitate any one more horrid than the inquisition.

This bloody tribunal, erected in Spain in 1482, by a combination of policy and fanaticism, under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was no sooner adopted by John III, than it struck terror into every family. To establish its authority, and afterwards to support it, no less than four or five hundred victims were annually sacrificed, a tenth part of which was burnt alive, and the rest banished to Africa or to the Brazils. The fury of this tribunal was particularly exerted against those who were suspected of sodomy; a crime of later date in the kingdom, and almost unavoidable, in hot climates, where celibacy prevails. It also prosecuted forcerers, who, in those times of ignorance, were as much dreaded as their number was multiplied, by the credulity, bigotry, and barbarism, that prevailed all over Europe. The Mohammedans, though greatly decreased since they had lost the empire, were also persecuted by the inquisition; but more especially the Jews, because they were the richest.

It is well known, that when the Jews, who had long been confined to a very small spot upon the face of the earth, were dispersed by the Romans, many of them took refuge in Portugal. There they multiplied after the Arabs had conquered Spain, were suffered to enjoy all the rights of citizens, and were not excluded from public offices, till that country had recovered its independence. This first act of oppression did not prevent twenty thousand Jewish families from removing thither, when, after the conquest of Granada, the Catholic kings compelled them to quit Spain, or to change their religion. Each family paid twenty livres [16s. 8d.] for the liberty of settling in Portugal. Superstition soon induced John II to aggravate the sufferings of that persecuted nation: he demand-

ed of 20,000 crowns [2500l.] and afterwards reduced them to a state of slavery. In 1496, Emanuel banished all those who refused to embrace the Christian religion; those who complied were restored to their freedom, and soon engrossed the Asiatic trade, which then began to be laid open to every one. The establishment of the inquisition, in 1548, proved a check to their activity. Their mistrust was increased by the frequent confiscations made by that odious tribunal, and by the taxes which government extorted from them at different times. They were in hopes of purchasing some tranquillity, by furnishing Sebastian with 250,000 livres [10,427l. 13s. 4d.] for his African expedition; but, unfortunately for them, that imprudent monarch came to an untimely end. Philip II, who soon after extended his dominion over Portugal, enacted, that such of his subjects as were descended from a Jew or a Moor, should be excluded from all ecclesiastical or civil employments. This mark of infamy, with which all the new converts to Christianity were branded, gave them such a disgust for a country, where even the greatest opulence could not exempt them from being stigmatized, that they removed, with their wealth, to Bourdeaux, Antwerp, Hamburg, and other towns, with which they had regular connections. This emigration was the occasion of a great revolution; it diverted the commerce, which till then had centered in Spain and Portugal, into other countries, and deprived those two nations of the advantages the one derived from the East, and the other from the West, Indies.

Before these last periods, the Jews, who were unremittingly persecuted by the inquisition, were banished in numbers to the Brazils. Though deprived of their fortunes by these insatiable leeches, they succeeded in establishing some cultures. This fortunate beginning convinced the court of Lisbon that a colony might be serviceable to the mother-country by other means than by metals. They began, as early as the year 1525, to cast a less disdainful look on this immense possession, which chance had bestowed upon them, and which had till then been considered as the sink into which all the filth of the monarchy was poured.

Brazil divided The nation soon adopted the opinion
between several of the ministry, and the noblemen espe-
noblemen by the cially were at first animated with this
court of Lisbon. new spirit. Government granted, suc-
 cessively, to those among them who

asked for it, a space of forty or fifty leagues upon the coast, with an unlimited extent in the interior parts of the country. They were authorized by their charter to treat the vanquished people in whatever manner they chose. They had a right, which most of them exercised, to dispose of the territory they had invaded, in favour of any Portuguese who would cultivate it; but they disposed of it only for three lives, reserving also to themselves some rent-charges. These great proprietors were to enjoy all the rights of sovereignty, except that of condemning to death, coining, and the tithes; prerogatives which the court kept in their hands. These useful and honourable siefs could only be forfeited by the neglecting to cultivate and defend them, by the deficiency of male issue, or by the commission of some capital crime.

Those who had solicited and obtained these provinces, expected to acquire the possession of them without much expence, and without exposing their lieutenants to any great danger. Their hopes were chiefly founded upon the indolence of the small nations they were to conquer.

Character and
customs of the
people whom
the Portuguese
wished to sub-
due.

MAN is undoubtedly formed for society; his wants and his weaknesses require it. But societies of twenty or thirty millions of men, cities consisting of four or five hundred thousand souls, are so many monstrous productions, which are so far from being formed by nature, that the, on the contrary, is incessantly studying to destroy them. They are only supported by constant foresight, and by most extraordinary efforts. They would soon be dissipated, if a considerable portion of this multitude did not attend to their preservation. The air is infected by them, the waters are corrupted; the land exhausted to a great extent; the duration of life is shortened among them; the sweets of plenty are but little felt, and the horrors of

death are extreme. They are the spot which gives birth to epidemic diseases; they are the haunts of crimes, of vices, and of dissolute manners. These enormous and fatal heaps of men are likewise one of the scourges of sovereignty, since cupidity invites around the throne, and perpetually increases the herd of slaves, under an infinite variety of functions and denominations. These unnatural assemblages of population are subject to ferment and to corrupt during peace; and if war should increase the ferment, the shock becomes dreadful.

Societies, in a state of nature, are little numerous; they subsist of themselves. They separate before a superabundance of population becomes troublesome. Each division removes to convenient distances. Such was the primitive state of the new countries; such is that of the new continent.

The Brazilians in general were of the size of the Europeans, but not so stout. They were subject to fewer distempers, and were long-lived. They wore no clothing; the women wore their hair extremely long, the men cut theirs short; the women wore bracelets of bones of a beautiful white, the men necklaces of the same; the women painted their faces, and the men their bodies.

Every colony of this vast continent had its own idioms, but not one of them had any words to convey general and abstract ideas. This poverty of language, which is common to all nations of South America, is a convincing proof of the little progress the human understanding had made in these countries. The analogy between the words in the several languages of this continent shews, that the reciprocal transigrations of these savages had been frequent.

The food of the Brazilians was very simple. In a country deprived of domestic animals, they lived upon shell-fish by the sea side; along the rivers, by fishing; and in the forests, by hunting. When these precarious provisions failed, they fed upon the cassava and other roots.

These men were very fond of dancing. Their songs were but one tedious uniform tone, without any modula-

tions, and commonly turned upon their loves or their war-like exploits.

In polished states, dancing and singing are reckoned among the arts. In the midst of the forests they are almost the natural expressions of concord and friendship, of tenderness and pleasure. We are obliged to have masters to instruct us to display our voices, and to move gracefully. The savage hath no other instructor but his passion, his heart, and nature. He really feels what we affect to feel. Accordingly, the savage who sings and dances is always happy.

Their amusements are not interrupted by the worship of a Supreme Being, for they know of none; nor is their tranquillity disturbed by the dread of a future state, of which they have no idea. They have, however, their magicians, who, by strange contortions, so far work upon the credulity of the people as to throw them into violent convulsions. If the impostures of these magicians are detected, they are immediately put to death, which serves, in some degree, to check the spirit of deceit.

These atheists are equally strangers to all notions of subordination and submission, which among ourselves are originally derived from the idea of a Supreme Being. They cannot conceive that any person can have the audacity to command, much less than any one can be so weak as to obey. But they shew most deference to the man who has killed the greatest number of his enemies.

The Brazilians, like most other savages, shewed no particular attachment to their native place. The love of our country, which is a ruling passion in civilized states, which in good governments rises to enthusiasm, and in bad ones grows habitual; which for several centuries together perpetuates in every nation its disposition, customs, and taste: this love of our country is but a factitious sentiment arising from society, but unknown in the state of nature. The moral life of a savage is the very reverse of that of the civilized man. The latter enjoys the gifts of nature only in his infancy. As his strength increases and his understanding unfolds itself, he loses sight of the present, and is wholly intent upon the future. Thus the age of passions and pleasures, the time destined by nature for

enjoyment, is spent in speculation and disappointment. The heart denies itself what it wishes for; laments the indulgences it has allowed itself, and is equally tormented by its self-denial and its gratifications. The civilized man, incessantly deploring his liberty which he hath always sacrificed, looks back with regret on his earliest years, when a succession of new objects constantly awakened his curiosity, and kept his hopes alive. He recollects with pleasure the spot where he passed his infant days; the remembrance of his innocent delights endears them to his imagination, and forcibly attracts him to his native spot; whereas the savage, who enjoys all the pleasures and advantages peculiar to every period of his life, and does not abstain from them in expectation of greater indulgence in old age, finds equally, in all places, objects suited to his desires, and feels that the source of his pleasures is in himself, and that his country is everywhere.

Though the tranquillity of the Brazilians was not the result of any laws, dissensions were seldom heard of in their little societies. If drunkenness, or some unfortunate incident, occasioned a dispute, and some life was lost, the murderer was instantly delivered up to the relations of the deceased, who immediately sacrificed him to their vengeance without hesitation; then both the families met, and their reconciliation was sealed by a joyous and noisy feast.

Every Brazilian took as many wives as he chose, or as many as he could get, and put them away when he grew tired of them. When they violated their marriage vow, they were punished, according to a custom almost generally adopted, with death, and the husband did not become an object of ridicule on account of the injury his wife had done him. When the women laid in, they kept their bed but a day or two; then the mother, hanging the child to her neck in a cotton scarf, returned to her usual occupations without any kind of inconvenience.

In general, the consequences of child-birth among the savages, are not so bad as they are among the women of civilized countries, because the first always suckle their children, and because the indolence of the men condemns them to a laborious life, which occasions the menstrual

flux in them to be less plentiful, and renders the channels, through which this superfluous blood is to flow, so much the more narrow. A long rest after child-birth, far from being necessary, would become as fatal to them, as it would be among us to our women of the lower class. This is not the only circumstance in which we find a compensation for the advantages of the several ranks of life. We feel the want of exercise, and go into the country in search of health. Our women begin to deserve the name of mothers, by suckling their own children; the children too are just rescued from the shackles of swaddling clothes. What can these innovations be attributed to, but to the consciousness that man cannot deviate imprudently from the laws of nature, without injury to his own happiness? In all future ages, the savages will advance by slow degrees towards the civilized state; and civilized nations will return towards their primitive state; from whence the philosopher will conclude, that there exists in the interval between these two states, a certain medium, in which the felicity of the human species is placed. But who is it that can find out this medium? and even if it were found, what authority would be capable of directing the steps of man to it, and to fix him there?

Travellers were received with distinguished marks of civility in the Brazils. Wherever they came, they were surrounded with women, who washed their feet, and welcomed them with the most obliging expressions. Nothing was spared for their entertainment; but it would have been an unpardonable affront, had they left the family where they were first entertained, in hopes of better accommodation in another. This spirit of hospitality is one of the most certain indications that man was intended for society.

Hospitality, the offspring of natural commiseration, was universally practised in the earliest times. It was almost the only thing that attached nations to each other: it was the source of the most ancient, the most lasting, and the most respected friendship, contracted between families who were separated by immense regions. A man, persecuted by his fellow-citizens, or guilty of any misdeemeanour, retired to distant countries in quest of tranquillity.

lity or impunity. He presented himself at the entrance of a town, or of a village, and said, "I am such a one, the son of such a one, or the grandson of such a one, and I come for such reasons." And then he related his story, or his invented tale, in the manner the most marvellous, the most pathetic, and the best calculated to give an idea of his consequence. He was eagerly attended; and he added, "receive me; for, if you or your children, or your children's children, should ever be driven by any misfortunes to my country, they need only name me, and my friends will receive them." He was immediately intreated to become their guest, and the persons with whom he preferred to live thought themselves honoured by this distinction. He took up his abode in their house, and was treated by them like one of the family; sometimes he became the husband, the ravisher, or the seducer, of his host's daughter.

To such adventures as these, who were, perhaps, the first travellers, the origin of the demigods of paganism, the offspring of hospitality and licentiousness, may be ascribed. Most of them owed their birth to passengers, to whom a bed had been given, and who were never seen afterwards.

Let us be allowed to say, that there was no occupation in the world so immoral as that of a traveller. The traveller by profession is like a man who is in possession of an immense house; and who, instead of sitting down with his wife, and in the midst of his children, should employ all his life in ranging about from one apartment to another. Tyranny, guilt, ambition, curiosity, a kind of restless spirit, the desire of acquiring knowledge, and of seeing things, tedium, and the disgust arising from exhausted felicity, have driven, and will at all times drive, men from their country.

But, in ages previous to civilization, to commerce, and to the invention of signs to represent riches, before interest had prepared a habitation for the traveller, hospitality supplied its place. The favourable reception of a stranger was considered as a sacred debt, which was often repaid after the lapse of several centuries, by the descendants of the person who had been the object of it; and

who, upon his return into his own country, took a delight in repeating the favours he had received; the remembrance of which was constantly preserved in his family.

These affecting instances of humanity have decreased, in proportion as the intercourse between nations hath been facilitated. Industrious, rapacious, and interested men have formed, in all parts, settlements, where the traveller alights, where he commands, and where he disposes of all the conveniences of life, as if he were at home. The master, or the landlord, of the house is neither his benefactor, his brother, nor his friend; he is only his upper servant. The gold that he spends at his house entitles him to treat his host as he chooses; he cares not for your respect, but for your money. When you quit his house, he thinks no more of you; nor do you recollect him, any farther than as you have been either displeased or satisfied with him. Hospitality, that sacred virtue which is extinguished amongst all nations where civilization and social institutions have made any progress, is no longer found but among the savages, and more particularly in the Brazils than in any other country.

Far from shewing that indifference or weakness which makes us shun the dead, and makes us unwilling to speak of them; or to remain in the places that might recal their image to our minds, the Brazilians beheld their dead with tender emotions, recounted their exploits with complacency, and celebrated their virtues with transport. They were buried upright in a round grave; and if the deceased was the head of a family, his plumes, his necklaces, and his arms, were interred with him. When a clan removed to another place, which often happened, merely for the sake of changing, every family fixed some remarkable stones over the graves of their most respectable relations; and they never approached those monuments of grief, without breaking out into dreadful outcries, not unlike the shouts with which they made the air resound when they were going to battle.

Motives of interest or ambition never prompted the Brazilians to war. The desire of avenging their relations or friends was always the occasion of their most sanguinary contests. Their chiefs, or rather their orators, were

old men, who determined the commencement of hostilities, gave the signal for marching, and exerted themselves during the march, in repeated expressions of implacable hatred. Sometimes even the march of the army was suspended, to listen to these passionate harangues, that lasted for many hours. This custom makes those long speeches we meet with in Homer, and in the Roman historians, appear more probable; but in those days the noise of the artillery did not drown the voices of the generals.

The combatants were armed with a club of ebony, six feet long, one foot broad, and an inch thick. Their bows and arrows were of the same wood. Their instruments of martial music were flutes made of the bones of their enemies. They were as well calculated to inspire courage as our drums, which stir our sense of danger, and as our trumpets, which give the signal, and perhaps the fear, of death. Their generals were the soldiers who had distinguished themselves most in former wars.

The first attack was never made openly, but both armies endeavoured to take the advantage of a surprisal. Their courage seldom consisted in maintaining their ground. The ambition of the Brazilians was to make a great many prisoners, which were slain and eaten with solemnity. During the feast, the old men exhorted the young to become interpid warriors, that they might often procure themselves such an honourable repast. This inclination for human flesh was never so prevalent as to induce the Brazilians to devour such of their enemies as had fallen in battle; they only ate those who had been taken alive.

The treatment of prisoners of war hath varied according to the degree of perfection human reason hath gradually attained. The most civilized nations ransom them, exchange or restore them at the conclusion of a war. Nations that are not yet completely civilized, claim them as their property, and make them slaves. The common savages massacre them, without putting them to torture. The most savage people of all torture, kill, and eat them. This is their execrable law of nations.

This anthropophagy hath long been considered as a chimera in the opinion of some sceptical persons. They could not conceive, that any nation, could have been re-

duced to the cruel necessity of feeding upon their fellow-creatures, to satisfy their own wants; and still less could they suppose, that any thing, except an absolute privation of every support of life, could have induced man to commit so atrocious a deed. Since the doubts of the most incredulous have been removed by a great number of facts, by testimonies of higher authority, and by more authentic accounts, some philosophers have attempted to justify this practice of several savage nations. They have still exclaimed with vehemence against the barbarity of the sovereigns who, to satisfy their own caprice, sent their unfortunate subjects to the slaughter-house of war. But they have imagined, that it was a matter of indifference, whether their carcases were devoured by men or by birds.

Perhaps, indeed, this custom hath not in itself any thing criminal, any thing that is repugnant to morality: but how pernicious would be the consequences arising from it? When man is once authorised to eat the flesh of man, if the taste of it should suit his palate, nothing will remain, but to make the stream of blood grateful to the nostrils of the tyrant. Let us then form an idea of these two phenomena, generally prevailing on the face of the globe, and let us fix our eyes upon the human species, if we can possibly bear the sight.

In the Brazil, the heads of the enemies slain in action, or sacrificed after the engagement, were very carefully preserved, and shewn with ostentation to all strangers, as monuments of valour and victory. The heroes of those savage nations bore their exploits imprinted on their limbs, by incisions which insured them respect. The more they were disfigured, the greater was their glory.

Ascendant of the missionaries over the natives of Brazil, and over the Portuguese, at the first existence of the colony.

Such manners had not disposed the Brazilians to submit patiently to the yoke that was intended to be imposed upon them: but what could the savages oppose to the arms and discipline of Europe? A considerable number of them had submitted, when, in 1549, the court of Lisbon thought proper to send over a

governor, to regulate an establishment which till then had been left to the fury and the caprices of a set of banditti. Thomas de Sousa, indeed, by building San Salvador, gave a centre to the colony; but the honour of restoring it to any kind of tranquillity was reserved to the Jesuits who attended him. Those intrepid men, who have always been prompted by motives of religion, or of ambition, to undertake great actions, dispersed themselves among the Indians. Such of these missionaries as were murdered from hatred to the Portuguese name, were immediately replaced by others, who were inspired with none but sentiments of peace and charity. This magnanimity confounded the barbarians, who had never had any idea of forgiveness. By degrees they began to place some confidence in men who seemed to seek them only with a view of making them happy. Their attachment to the missionaries grew into a passionate fondness. When a Jesuit was expected in one of their nations, the young people flocked to meet him, concealing themselves in the woods along the road. As he drew near, they sallied forth, played upon their pipes, beat their drums, danced and made the air resound with joyful songs; and in a word, omitted nothing that could express their satisfaction. At the entrance of the village, the old men and chief inhabitants were assembled, who expressed as much joy, but with more sedateness. A little farther on, stood the women and young girls, in a respectful posture suitable to their sex. Then they all joined, and conducted their father in triumph to the place where they were assembled. There he instructed them in the fundamental doctrines of religion; exhorted them to a regularity of manners, to a love of justice, to brotherly charity, and to an abhorrence for human blood; after which he baptized them.

As these missionaries were too few in number to transact all the business themselves, they frequently deputed some of the most intelligent Indians in their stead. These men, proud of so glorious an office, distributed hatchets, knives, and looking-glasses among the savages they met with, and represented the Portuguese as a harmless, humane, and good sort of people. They never returned

from their excursions without bringing with them some of the Brazilians, who followed them from motives of curiosity. When those savages had once seen the Jesuits, it was with difficulty that they ever quitted them. When they returned home, it was to invite their families and friends to come and share their happiness, and to display the presents they had received.

If any one should doubt these happy effects of kindness and humanity over savage nations, let him only compare the progress the Jesuits have made, in a very short time, in South America, with what the forces and navy of Spain and Portugal have not been able to effect in the space of two centuries. While multitudes of soldiers were employed in changing two great and civilized empires into deserts inhabited by roving savages, a few missionaries have changed little wandering clans into several great and civilized nations. If these active and courageous men had been less infected with the spirit of the church of Rome; if, when formed into a society in the most intriguing and corrupt court of Europe, they had not insinuated themselves into other courts, to influence all political events; if they had not disgusted, by their spirit of intoleration, all moderate persons; and all the tribunals by their passion for despotism; if an outrageous zeal for religion had not made them the secret enemies to the progress of knowledge, and the persecutors of philosophy; if they had employed as much art in making themselves beloved, as they did in making themselves feared; if they had been as jealous of increasing the splendour of their society, as of augmenting its power; if the chiefs or the order had not made an ill use of the very virtues of their members; the Old and New World would still have reaped the advantage of the occupations of a set of men, who might have been made useful, had they been prevented from being necessary; and the eighteenth century would not have had cause to be ashamed of the enormities that have attended the suppression of the society. The whole universe would continue to be fertilized by their labours and by their undertakings.

The Brazilians had too much cause of hatred against

the Europeans, not to mistrust their kindness; but their diffidence was in some measure removed by a signal act of justice.

The Portuguese had formed the settlement of St. Vincent on the sea-coast, in the 24th degree of south latitude. There they traded peaceably with the Cariges, the mildest and most civilized nation in all the Brazils. The advantages they reaped from this connection could not restrain them from seizing upon seventy men to make slaves of them. The person who had committed the offence was condemned to carry the prisoners back to the place from whence he had taken them, and to make the proper excuses for so heinous an insult. Two Jesuits, who were appointed to dispose the Indians to accept this satisfaction, which would never have been offered but at their desire, gave notice of it to Faranacaha, the most respectable man of his nation. He came out to meet them, and, embracing them with tears of joy; "Fathers," said he, "we consent to forget all that is past; and to enter into a fresh alliance with the Portuguese; but let them for the future be more moderate, and more observant of the rights of nations. Our attachment entitles us at least to equitable proceedings. We are called barbarians, yet we respect justice and our friends." The missionaries having engaged that for the future their nation should more religiously observe the laws of peace and unity, Faranacaha proceeded thus: "If you doubt the faith of the Cariges, I will give you proof of it. I have a nephew, for whom I have a great affection; he is the hope of my family, and the comfort of his mother; she would die with grief if she were to lose her son. Yet I will deliver him to you as a hostage. Take him along with you; cultivate his young mind; take care of his education; and instruct him in your religion. Let his manners be gentle and pure. I hope, when you return, you will instruct me also, and enlighten my mind." Many of the Cariges followed his example, and sent their children to St. Vincent for education. The Jesuits were too artful not to take great advantage of this event; but it does not appear that they ever had any intention to deceive the Indians by inculcat-

ing submission. Avarice had not yet possessed the minds of these missionaries; and the interest they had at court secured sufficient respect in the colony to make the situation of their converts a fortunate one.

This time of tranquillity was improved. For some years past, sugar plants had been transplanted from Madeira to Brazil, where the climate and the soil were found favourable to this rich produce. The culture of it was at first very inconsiderable; but no sooner was the strength of the Negroes substituted to the languid labours of the Indians, towards the year 1570, than it received an increase. This progress was growing daily more considerable, because this production, which had been hitherto only of use in medicine, became more and more an article of luxury.

*Irruption of the
French into the
Brazil.*

THIS prosperity, which was visible in all the markets of Europe, excited the cupidity of the French. They attempted to form three or four settlements at Brazil. Their levity would not suffer them to wait the usually slow progress of new undertakings; and merely from inconstancy and impatience, they gave up prospects that were sufficient to have encouraged any, except such volatile minds, that are as easily discouraged as they are ready to undertake. The only valuable monument we have of their fruitless incursions is a dialogue, which more particularly shews the natural good sense of the savages; as it is written with that simplicity of style which distinguished the French language two hundred years ago; a simplicity in which there were graces we cannot still but regret.

"The Brazilians," says Lery, one of the interlocutors, "being very much astonished to see the French take such pains to get their wood, one of their old men once asked me this question: what can be the reason that you Frenchmen come so far to get wood for firing? Is there none in your own country? To which I answered, yes, and a great deal too, but not such as theirs, which we did not burn, as he thought; but as they themselves used it to dye their strings and their feathers, our people

“ employed it also in dyeing. He replied, well; but
 “ do you want so great a quantity? Yes, said I; for
 “ in our country there are some merchants who have
 “ more rugs and scarlet cloths than you ever saw in
 “ this country; one of these will buy several cargoes
 “ of this wood. Ha, ha! says the savage, thou tellest me
 “ wonders. Then pausing upon what I had I been
 “ telling him, he said, but this very rich man thou talkest
 “ of, is he never to die? Yes, yes, said I, as well as
 “ others. Upon which, as they are great talkers, he
 “ asked me again, so then, when he is dead, to whom
 “ does all the wealth he leaves belong? It goes, said I,
 “ to his children, or, if he hath none, to his brothers,
 “ sisters, or next of kin. Truly, says the old man, now
 “ I see that you Frenchmen are great fools; for, must
 “ you work so hard, and cross the sea, to heap riches for
 “ them that come after you, as if the earth that had fed
 “ you was not sufficient to feed them likewise? We have
 “ children and relations whom we love, as thou seest;
 “ but as we are sure that, after our death, the earth that
 “ hath provided for our subsistence will equally provide
 “ for theirs, we are satisfied.”

This mode of reasoning, so natural to savages, whom nature hath exempted from ambition, but so foreign to civilized nations, who have experienced all the ill effects of luxury and avarice, made no great impression on the French. They could not withstand the temptation of riches, which all the maritime nations in Europe thirsted after at that time. The Dutch, who were become republicans by chance, and merchants from necessity, were more persevering and more successful than the French in their attempts on the Brazils. The nation they had to contend with was not more considerable than their own, and, in imitation of them, was preparing to shake off the yoke of Spain, though they still submitted to that of a regal government.

All historical accounts are full of the acts of tyranny and cruelty that excited the Low countries to rise against Philip II. The richest provinces were retained or brought

back under the yoke of a tyrannical government, while the poorest, that were in a manner sunk under water, found means, by more than human exertions, to secure their independence. When their liberty was firmly established, they attacked their enemy upon the remotest seas, on the Indus, on the Ganges, and as far as the Moluccas, which made a part of the Spanish dominions, since Portugal had been included in them. The truce of 1609 gave time to that enterprising and fortunate republic to bring her new projects to maturity. These designs were manifested in 1621, by the establishment of a West-India company, from which the same success was expected in Africa and America, that were both comprised in the charter, as the East-India company had experienced in Asia. The operations of the new society began by the attack of Brazil.

Precautions had been taken to procure the necessary informations. Some Dutch ships had ventured thither, in defiance of the law that prohibited the admittance of any strangers. As they greatly undersold, according to the custom of their country, the commodities that came from Spain, they met with a favourable reception. At their return, the contraband traders reported, that the country was in a kind of anarchy; that foreign dominion had stifled in the people the love of their country; that self-interest had corrupted their minds; that the soldiers had turned merchants; that they had forgotten the first principles of war, and that whoever should appear there with a competent force, would infallibly surmount the trifling obstacles that might be opposed to the conquest of that wealthy region.

The company committed this undertaking to Jacob Willekins; in 1624. He went directly to the capital. San Salvador surrendered at sight of the Dutch fleet; and the rest of the province, although it was the most extensive and most populous of the colony, made little more resistance.

This was a terrible misfortune, but it did not give any pain to the Spanish council. Since that crown had subdued Portugal, they did not find the people as submissive as they wished them to be. A disaster which might render them more dependent, appeared to be a great advan-

tage; and their ministers congratulated themselves, upon having at length found an opportunity of aggravating the yoke of their despotism.

Philip, without entertaining more equitable ideas, or more elevated sentiments, thought that the majesty of the throne required of him some outward appearance of decency. Accordingly, he wrote to the Portuguese of the first rank, exhorting them to make such generous efforts as the present exigencies required. This they were already inclined to. Self-interest, patriotism, the desire of throwing a damp upon the joy of their tyrants; all concurred to quicken their alacrity. The moneyed men lavished their treasures; others raised troops; all were eager to enter into the service. In three months time twenty-six ships were fitted out, which sailed in the beginning of the year 1626, in company with those from Spain, which the tardiness and policy of that nation had made them wait for much too long.

The archbishop of San Salvador, Michael de Texeira, had prepared matters so as to facilitate their success. That martial prelate, at the head of 1500 men, had at first stopped the progress of the enemy. He had insulted, harassed, beaten, driven, inclosed, and blocked them up in the town. The Dutch, reduced by hunger, fatigue, and want, compelled the governor to surrender to the troops which the fleet had landed on their arrival, and they were all carried to Europe.

The success of the company by sea, made them amends for this loss. Whenever their ships came into port they were victorious, and loaded with the spoils of the Spaniards and Portuguese. They were so prosperous as to give umbrage even to the powers most interested in the welfare of Holland. The ocean was covered with their fleets. Their admirals endeavoured, by useful exploits, to preserve their confidence. The subaltern officers aspired to promotion, by seconding the valour and skill of their commanders. The soldiers and sailors fought with unparalleled ardour, and nothing could discourage these resolute and intrepid men. The fatigues of the sea, sickness, and repeated engagements, all seemed to inure them to war, and to increase their emulation. The company

encouraged this useful spirit, by frequently distributing rewards. Exclusive of their pay, the sailors were allowed to carry on a private trade, which was a great encouragement, and procured a constant supply of men. By this wise regulation, their interest was so immediately connected with that of their employers, that they wished to be always in action. They never struck to the enemy, nor ever failed to attack their ships with that degree of skill, intrepidity, and perseverance which must insure victory. In the course of thirteen years, the company fitted out eight hundred ships, which cost ninety millions [3,750,000*l.*] They took five hundred and forty-five of the enemy's ships, which, with the goods on-board, sold for 180,000,000 livres [7,500,000*l.*] The dividend was never below twenty *per cent.* and often rose to fifty. This prosperity, which was entirely owing to the war, enabled the company to make a second attack upon the Brazils.

Their admiral, Henry Lonk, arrived in the beginning of the year 1630, with forty-six men of war, on the coast of Fernambucca, one of the largest provinces in those parts, and the best fortified. He reduced it after several obstinate engagements, in which he was always victorious. The troops he left behind subdued the neighbouring countries in the years 1633, 1634, and 1635. This was the most cultivated part of Brazil, and consequently that which afforded most commodities.

The company were so elated with the acquisition of this wealth, which flowed to Amsterdam instead of Lisbon, that they determined upon the conquest of all the Brazils, and intrusted Maurice of Nassau with the conduct of that enterprise. That general reached the place of his destination in the beginning of the year 1637. He found the soldiers so well disciplined, the commanders such experienced men, and so much readiness in all to engage, that he directly took the field. He was successively opposed by Albuquerque, Banjola, Lewis Rocca de Borgia, and the Brazilian Cameron, the idol of his people, passionately fond of the Portuguese, brave, active, cunning, and who wanted no qualification necessary for a general, but to have learned the art of war under able commanders. These several chiefs exerted their utmost efforts to defend

the possessions that were under their protection ; but their endeavours proved ineffectual. The Dutch completed the conquest of all the coast extending from San Salvador to the Amazon.

It was in these circumstances that an eloquent Jesuit, named Anthony Vieira, pronounced, in one of the churches of Bahia, the most vehement and most extraordinary discourse that hath perhaps ever been heard in a Christian pulpit.

Complaints of a Portuguese preacher upon the success of a heretic nation.

The singularity of this sermon will probably plead my excuse for the long extract I am going to give of it.

Vieira took for his text that part of the Psalms, where the prophet, addressing himself to God, exclaims, "Awake, O Lord ; wherefore hast thou slept ? Wherefore hast thou turned thy countenance from us ? Wherefore hast thou forgotten our misery and our tribulation ? Awake, and come to our succour. Think on the glory of thy name, and save us."

"It is in these words, full of pious firmness and of religious boldness ; it is thus," saith the orator, "that the king-prophet, protesting rather than praying, addresseth himself to God. The times and circumstances are the same ; and I may also venture to say, Awake, wherefore hast thou slept ?"

Vieira repeated his text ; and, after having shewn the conformity between the misfortunes of the Israelites and the Portuguese, he adds, "It is not, therefore to the people that my discourse this day shall be addressed. My voice and my words shall be employed upon a higher theme. I aspire, at this instant, to penetrate even into the breast of the Divinity. This is the last day of the fortnight which is destined, in all the churches of the mother-country, to prayer before the sacred altars ; and, since this day is the last, it is proper to have recourse to the sole and last remedy. The preachers of the gospel have in vain endeavoured to lead you to repentance. Since ye have been deaf, since they have not converted you, it is thou, O Lord, whom I will

“ convert ; and although we are the sinners, it is thou who shalt repent.

“ When the children of Israel had committed the crime in the desert, in worshipping the golden calf; thou didst reveal their fault to Moses, and thou didst add, in thy wrath, that thou wouldst annihilate those ungrateful people. Moses said unto thee, Why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people ? Before thou punishest, consider what is proper for thee to do. Shall the Egyptians accuse thee of having taken them out of slavery for mischief, and to slay them in the mountains ? Reflect on the glory of thy name.

“ Such was the reasoning made use of by Moses, and such shall be mine. Thou didst repent thee of the design which thou hadst formed. Thou art still the same ; and my arguments are stronger than those of the Jewish legislator. They will have the same effect upon thee ; and, if thou hast taken the resolution to destroy us, thou wilt repent of it. Thou canst not be ignorant that the heretic, inflated with the success which thou hast given him, hath already said, that it is to the falsity of our worship he owes thy protection and his victories. And what dost thou think the Gentiles that surround us, the Talapouin, who is yet unacquainted with thee, the inconstant Indian, and the ignorant and stupid Egyptian, but just washed with the waters of baptism, will think of this ? Are these people capable of searching into, and of adoring the depth of thy judgments ? Arise, therefore, and, if thou hast any care of thy glory, suffer not that arguments against our faith should be drawn from our defeats. Awake, and let the storms which have dispersed our fleets disperse those of our common enemy. Let the pestilence, and the diseases which have wasted our armies, bring destruction among theirs ; and, since the councils of men are frustrated at thy pleasure, let darkness and confusion prevail in theirs.

“ Joshua was more holy and more patient than we are ; yet his language was not different from mine, and the circumstance was much less important. He crossed the Jordan, he attacked the city of Ai, and his troops

“ were dispersed. His loss was moderate, and yet behold
 “ him rending his clothes, falling upon the earth, giving
 “ way to the most bitter complaints, and exclaiming,
 “ *wherefore hast thou brought us over Jordan to deliver*
 “ *us into the hands of the Ammonites?* And I, when
 “ the interest of an immense people, and in a vast extent
 “ of country, are concerned, shall I not exclaim, hast
 “ thou given us these regions merely to deprive us of
 “ them again? If thou didst design them for the Dutch,
 “ why didst thou not invite them while they were yet un-
 “ cultivated? Has the heretic rendered thee such great
 “ services, and are we so vile in thine eyes, that thou
 “ shouldst have drawn us from our country merely to
 “ clear their lands for them, to build their cities, and to
 “ enrich them with our labours? Is this the indemnity
 “ which thou hast fixed upon in thine heart, for so many
 “ men slaughtered upon the earth, or lost in the waters?
 “ Yet, if it be thy will, it must be so. But I perceive
 “ that those whom thou rejectest, and whom thou dost
 “ oppress to-day, thou wilt search for in vain to-morrow.

“ Job, when crushed with misfortunes, expostulated
 “ with thee. Thou dost not expect that we should be
 “ more insensible than he was. He said to thee, *since*
 “ *thou hast resolved upon my destruction, complete thy*
 “ *work; kill me, and annihilate me: but thou shalt seek*
 “ *me in the morning, and I shall not be. Thou shalt*
 “ *find Sabeans, Chaldeans, and blasphemers of thy name;*
 “ *but Job, thy faithful servant, who worshippeth thee, will*
 “ *no more be found.*

“ I will say to thee, O Lord, with Job, burn, destroy,
 “ and consume us all: but one day, but in the morning;
 “ thou shalt seek for Portuguese, and thou shalt seek in
 “ vain. Will Holland furnish thee, at thy call, with
 “ apostolic conquerors, who, at the risk of their lives;
 “ will convey over the face of the whole globe the stand-
 “ ard of the cross? Will Holland establish a seminary of
 “ apostolic preachers, who will be ready, for the interest
 “ of thy faith, to spill their blood in barbarous regions?
 “ Will Holland raise temples that are agreeable to thee?
 “ Will it construct altars upon which thou wilt descend?
 “ Will it consecrate true ministers to thee? Will it offer

“ up to thee the great sacrifice ? Will it worship thee in a
 “ manner worthy of thee. Yes—the worship thou wilt
 “ receive from her will be the same as that which she
 “ practiseth daily at Amsterdam, at Middleburgh, at
 “ Flushing, and in the other districts of those damp and
 “ cold infernal regions.

“ I know well, O Lord, that the propagation of thy
 “ faith, and the interests of thy glory, do not depend
 “ upon us ; and that if there were no men, thy power
 “ animating the stones might rise up children to Abraham.
 “ But I also know, that, since the time of Adam, thou
 “ hast not created any mortals of a new species ; that
 “ thou dost make use of those that exist ; and that thou
 “ dost admit in thy designs those that are less good, only
 “ in default of the better. Witness the parable of the
 “ feast, *Bring in the blind and the lame*. Such is the
 “ proceeding of Providence ; and wilt thou reverse it at
 “ present ? We have been invited, and we have not re-
 “ fused to come to the feast, and yet thou dost prefer to
 “ us the blind and the lame, lutherans and calvinists,
 “ blind in the faith, and lame in their works !

“ If we be so unfortunate, as that the Dutch should
 “ make themselves masters of Brazil, the circumstance
 “ that I will represent to thee, with all humility, but
 “ with great earnestness, is, that thou wouldst consider
 “ well before the execution of thy decree. Weigh with
 “ attention what may be the consequence of it ; and re-
 “ flect while there is still time for it. If thou art to re-
 “ pent, it is better that thou shouldst do it at present,
 “ than when the evil shall be without remedy. Thou
 “ perceivest the scope of my argument, and the reasons,
 “ deduced from thine conduct, for the remonstrance I
 “ make to thee. Before the time of the deluge, thou
 “ wert also much incensed against mankind. In vain did
 “ Noah address his prayers to thee during a century.
 “ Thou didst persist in thine anger ; and the cataracts of
 “ the heavens were at length burst, and the waters rose
 “ above the summits of the mountains. The whole
 “ earth was overflown, and thy justice was satisfied. But
 “ three days after this, when the bodies floated upon the
 “ waters, when thine eyes beheld the multitude of livid

“carcasses, when the surface of the sea presented to thee
 “the most melancholy and the most hideous sight that
 “had ever afflicted the angelic choir, what was the con-
 “sequence? affected with the sight, as if thou hadst not
 “foreseen it, thy bowels were moved with anguish. Thou
 “didst repent of having made the world. Thou didst
 “regret the past, and didst take resolutions for the future:
 “Since such is thy disposition, why dost thou not spare
 “thyself, in sparing us? Why dost thou persist in thy
 “present wrath, if it be afterwards to excite thy mur-
 “murs, and if thy mercy is to be affected by the decrees
 “of thy justice? Reflect upon it before thou dost begin,
 “and consider the consequences of the new deluge thou
 “hast designed to produce. Let me be allowed to re-
 “present them to thee.

“Let us suppose Bahia, and the rest of Brazil, are be-
 “come the prey of the Dutch. Behold them entering
 “into the city with the fury of conquerors, and with the
 “rage of heretics. Behold that neither age nor sex are
 “spared. Behold the blood streaming on all sides. Be-
 “hold the guilty, the innocent, the women and the child-
 “ren, all put to the sword, and massacred one upon an-
 “other. Behold the tears of the virgins, who weep for
 “the injury they have suffered. Behold the old men
 “dragged by their hair. Listen to the mixed cries of
 “the monks and of the priests, who embrace thine altars,
 “and who lift up their hands unto thee. Even thou thy-
 “self, O Lord! wilt not escape their violence. Yes—
 “thou wilt partake of it. The heretics will force the
 “gates of thy temples. The host, which is thine own
 “proper body, will be trampled under foot: The vases
 “that have been filled with thy blood, will serve for riot-
 “ing and drunkenness. Thine altars will be thrown
 “down. Thy images will be torn to pieces. Sacrilegious
 “hands will be laid upon thy mother.

“That these insults should be offered to thee, and
 “that thou shouldst suffer them, is not a matter of asto-
 “nishment to me, since thou hast formerly suffered others
 “still more cruel: but thy mother! O! where is filial
 “piety? Didst thou not deprive Hosea of life, for having
 “touched the ark? Didst thou not wither the arm that
 “Jeroboam had raised against a prophet; and yet the

“ heretics have thousands of arms for more atrocious
 “ deeds? Thou didst dethrone, and didst cause Balshaz-
 “ zar to die, for having drank out of sacred vessels, al-
 “ though thy blood had not been consecrated in them;
 “ and yet thou dost spare the heretic; and there are not
 “ two fingers and a thumb to trace upon the wall the
 “ sentence of their death.

“ In a word, O Lord, when thy temples are spoiled,
 “ thine altars demolished, thy religion extinct in Brazil,
 “ and thy worship annihilated, when the grass shall grow
 “ upon the avenues to thy churches, christmas-day shall
 “ come round, and no one shall recollect the day of thy
 “ birth. Lent and the holy week shall come round, and
 “ yet the mysteries of thy passion shall not be celebrated.
 “ The stones of our streets shall cry out, as the stones did
 “ in the solitary streets of Jerusalem. There will be no
 “ more priests, no more sacrifices, no more sacraments.
 “ Heresy will arise in the pulpit of truth; and the child-
 “ ren of the Portuguese will be tainted with false doc-
 “ trines. The children of my audience will be asked,
 “ *little boys, what is your religion?* and they will answer,
 “ *we are calvinists. And you, little girls, what is yours?*
 “ and they will answer, *we are lutherans*. Then thou
 “ wilt be moved with compassion, and repent: but if
 “ thy repentance be to be awakened, why dost thou not
 “ prevent it?

“ But tell me, what glory canst thou find in destroying
 “ a nation, and in causing it to be supplanted by another?
 “ This is a power thou didst formerly intrust to a mean
 “ inhabitant of Anatho. In punishing us, thou dost
 “ triumph over the weak; in pardoning us, thou dost
 “ triumph over thyself. Be merciful for thine own glory,
 “ and for the honour of thy name. Let not thy wrath
 “ be prolonged for ever, nor even for one day. Thou
 “ wilt not suffer that the sun should set upon our anger;
 “ and yet how often hath it not risen, how often hath it
 “ not set upon thine? Dost thou require from us a mo-
 “ deration thou dost not possess? Dost thou give us the
 “ precept without the example?

“ Forgive us, O Lord? and put an end to our mis-
 “ fortunes. Holy Virgin, intercede for us; entreat thy

"Son; lay thy commands upon him. If he be angered with our offences, tell him that he must forgive them, as it is enjoined us by his law to forgive those who have offended us."

We know not whether the Lord listened to this apostrophe of the orator Vieira; but a little while after the conquest, the Dutch were interrupted by a revolution which all nations wished for, and which none had foreseen.

The Portuguese had never enjoyed happy times since they had submitted to the Spanish yoke in 1581. Philip II, an avaricious, cruel, despotic, designing, and false prince, had endeavoured to vilify them, but concealed his intentions under honourable pretences. His son, who too closely followed his maxims, and thought it better to reign over a ruined nation than to be indebted to the good will of the people for their submission, had suffered them to be deprived of a multitude of conquests, which had proved a source of riches, power, and glory to them, and which they had acquired by much effusion of blood. The successor of that weak prince, who had still less understanding than his father, openly and contemptuously attacked their administration, their privileges, their manners, and all that they were most attached to. At the instigation of Olivarez, he wanted to provoke them to revolt, that he might acquire the right of plundering them.

These repeated outrages united all the Portuguese, whom Spain had been labouring to divide. A conspiracy, that had been forming for three years, with incredible secrecy, broke out on the 3d of December 1640. Philip IV was ignominiously banished, and the duke of Braganza was placed on the throne of his ancestors. The example of the capital was followed by the whole kingdom, and by all that remained of the settlements formed in happier times in Asia, Africa, and America. No blood was shed on this great revolution, except that of Michael Vasconcellos, the base and vile instrument of tyranny.

The new king united his interests and his resentments with those of the English, the French, and all the enemies of Spain. On the 23d of June 1641, he in particular concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the United provinces for Europe, and a ten years truce

for the East and West Indies. Nassau was immediately recalled with most of the troops, and the government of the Dutch possessions in Brazil was given to Hamel, a merchant of Amsterdam; to Bassis, a goldsmith of Haarlem; and to Bullestraat, a carpenter of Middleburgh. The decision of all affairs was to be referred to this council; and these were now supposed to be confined to the carrying on of a great and advantageous trade.

A considerable obstacle frustrated their hopes. The lands belonged to the Portuguese, who had remained under the government of the republic. Some of them had never acquired sufficient means to form rich plantations; and others had lost their fortunes by the calamities which are inseparable from war. As soon as this inability was known in Europe, the moneyed men in the United provinces hastened to send the funds necessary for the carrying on of all the labours which it was possible to undertake. The face of affairs was soon changed in those regions, every thing seemed animated with new life; but edifices too magnificent were erected, an infinite number of slaves perished by a contagious disorder; and excessive luxury was generally prevailing. These faults and misfortunes disabled the debtors from fulfilling their engagements. In order not to lose all their credit, they were imprudent enough to borrow money at three and four *per cent. per month*. This absurd conduct soon rendered them insolvent; and the prisons were filled with unfortunate or guilty persons. The company were obliged to take the debts upon themselves, in order to preserve this beautiful settlement from total ruin; but they required that the cultivators should give up the entire price of their productions, till all the debts should be liquidated.

Before this arrangement, the agents for the monopoly had suffered the fortifications to fall into ruin; they had sold the arms and the ammunition; they had permitted every foldier who was desirous of it, to return to the mother-country. This conduct had annihilated the public strength, and had induced the Portuguese to hope that they might speedily throw off a foreign yoke. The stipulation; which deprived them of all the comforts of life

to which they were accustomed, determined them to hasten the revolution.

The boldest of them united, in 1645, to take their revenge ; their design was, to massacre all the Dutch who had any share in the government, at an entertainment in the midst of the capital of Fernambucca, and then to attack the people, who, suspecting no danger, would be unprepared. The plot was discovered ; but the conspirators had time to get out of the town, and retire to a place of safety.

Their chief was a Portuguese of obscure birth, named Juan Fernandez de Viera. From a common servant he had risen to be an agent, and afterwards a merchant. His abilities had enabled him to acquire a large fortune ; his probity had gained him universal confidence ; and his generosity had made him an infinite number of friends, who were inviolably attached to his interest. He was not discouraged by the disappointment he had just met with ; but he ventured, without the consent or support of government, to commence hostilities.

His name, his virtues, and his projects, assembled the Brazilians, the Portuguese soldiers, and even the colonists, about him. He inspired them with his confidence, his activity, and his courage. They attended him in battle, crowded about his person, and were determined to conquer or to die with him. He triumphed, but did not allow himself to slumber over his victories, or give the enemy time to recover. Some checks he met with in the course of his successes only served to display the firmness of his soul, the extent of his genius, and the elevation of his mind. He assumed a threatening aspect even after a misfortune, and appeared still more formidable by his perseverance than by his intrepidity. He spread such terror among his enemies, that they dared no longer keep the field. At this period of his glory, Viera received orders not to proceed.

Since the truce, the Dutch had seized upon some places in Africa and Asia, which they obstinately refused to restore. The court of Lisbon, intent upon matters of greater importance, had not been able to do themselves justice ; but their present inability had not lessened their resent-

ment. In this disposition, they had rejoiced to see the republic attacked in Brazil; and had even clandestinely encouraged those who had begun the hostilities. As they constantly disavowed these proceedings, and declared, both in Europe and America, that they would one day punish the authors of the disturbances, the company imagined they would soon subside; but their avarice, which had been too long amused with false and frivolous protestations, was at length roused. John IV, being informed that considerable armaments were preparing in Holland, and fearing to be drawn into a war which he wished to avoid, exerted himself in earnest to put an end to the hostilities in the Brazils.

Vieira, who had no resource for the completion of his designs, but in his fortune, his interest, and his abilities, did not even deliberate whether he should obey. "If the king," said he, "were but informed of our zeal, and our success, and acquainted with his own interest, far from disarming us, he would encourage us to pursue our undertaking, and would support us with all his power." Then, lest the ardour of his companions should abate, he determined to hasten his operations; and they continued to be crowned with such success, that, with the assistance of Baretto, Vidal, and some other Portuguese, who were able and willing to serve their country, he completed the ruin of the Dutch. The few of these republicans who escaped the sword and famine evacuated Brazil, in consequence of a capitulation signed the 28th of January, 1654.

What changes are produced in the opinions of men! These events seem no more to us, and are, in fact, no more than the consequences of some political, moral, or natural causes; and the orator Vieira appears no more to us than an elegant enthusiast. But let us carry our imaginations back to the times of the Hebrews, when they had seminaries of inspired men; to those of the Greeks, when people resorted to Delphos from all parts of the world; to those of the Romans, who never dared to undertake any considerable enterprise, without having previously consulted the entrails of the victims, and the sacred fowls; and to the times of our ancestors, at the period of the

crusades: let us imagine a prophet, a witch, an augur, or a St. Bernard, in the room of Vieira, and the revolution in the Brazils will instantly appear miraculous; it will appear as if God, moved by the sacred boldness of an extraordinary person, had sent an avenger to the oppressed nation.

The peace, concluded three months after between England and the United provinces, seemed to put the latter in a condition to recover a valuable possession, which they had lost by an ill-judged parsimony, and by an unfortunate concurrence of circumstances; but both the republic and the company frustrated the general expectation; and the treaty, which put an end to the divisions between the two powers in 1661, secured to Portugal the sole possession of all the Brazils, in consideration of eight millions of livres [333,333l. 6s. 8d.] which that crown engaged to pay to the United provinces either in money or goods.

Thus did the Dutch part with a conquest that might have become the richest of all the European colonies, and would have given the republic a degree of importance it could never acquire from its own territory. But, in order to keep it, the government ought to have undertaken the administration and defence of it; and, to make it prosper, it should have enjoyed full liberty. With these precautions, Brazil would have been preserved, and would have enriched the nation, instead of ruining the company. Unfortunately, it was not yet known, that the only way to make lands useful in America was to clear them, and that this could not be done with success, unless a free trade were opened to all the inhabitants under the protection of government.

No sooner were the Portuguese entirely freed, by a firm treaty, from an enemy by whom they had been so often conquered, and so often humbled, than they applied themselves to give some stability to their possession, and to increase its riches. Unfortunately, some

Situation of the Portuguese in the Brazils, after they had expelled the Dutch.

of the steps taken in order to promote and ensure pro-

perity, bore the marks of ignorance and prejudice ; but they were still much superior to any thing that had been practised before this memorable era.

While the court of Lisbon was engaged in regulating the interior concerns of the colony, some of the most active subjects of Portugal were devising the means of extending it. They advanced to the south towards the river of Plata, and to the north as far as that of the Amazons. The Spaniards seemed to be in possession of both these rivers. The Portuguese were determined to drive them away, or to share the navigation with them.

*Settlement of
the Portuguese
on the river of
the Amazons.*

THE river of the Amazons, so famous for the length of its course ; that great vassal of the sea, to which it brings the tribute it hath received from so many of its own vassals, seems to be produced by innumerable torrents that rush down from the east side of the Andes, and unite in a spacious plain, to form that immense river. Yet the common opinion is, that it comes from the lake Lauricocha, as from a reservoir of the Cordelairias situated in the district of Guanuca, thirty leagues distant from Lima, about the 11th degree of south latitude. In its progress of a thousand or eleven hundred leagues, it receives the waters of a prodigious number of rivers, some of which come from far, and are very broad and deep. It is interspersed with an infinite number of islands, that are too often overflowed to admit of culture. It falls into the ocean under the line, and is there fifty leagues broad.

The mouth of this river was first discovered in 1500 by Vincent Pinçon, one of the companions of Columbus ; and its source is thought to have been found out by Gonzalo Pizarro in 1538. His lieutenant Orellana embarked on this river, and sailed from one end to the other of it. He was obliged to fight his way along, and to engage with many nations, who obstructed his navigation with their canoes, and poured showers of arrows upon him from the shore. It was certainly at this time that the sight of savages without beards, as are all the American nations, struck the lively imaginations of the Spaniards,

and suggested the idea of an army of female warriors: this must have induced the commanding officer to change the name of that river, which was then called the Maraghon, and to call it the river of the Amazons; which name it retains to this day.

It might appear a matter of astonishment, that the discovery of America had not suggested any miraculous stories to the imagination of the Spaniards, of a people who, indeed, never possessed the delicacy of taste, the sensibility, nor the graces, that were allotted to the Greeks; but whom nature had indemnified for the want of these qualities, by giving them a haughtiness of character, an elevation of soul, and an imagination as fertile, and more ardent, than she had bestowed on any other nation.

The Greeks never travelled, either in or beyond the precincts of their narrow territory, without meeting with something marvellous. On the summit of the Pindus they saw Apollo, surrounded with the nine muses. They heard the caverns of Lemnos resound with the hammers of the Cyclops. They fastened Prometheus to the top of the Caucasus. They crushed the giants under a weight of mountains. If *Ætna* roared, and vomited torrents of flame, this was ascribed to the labours of Typhoeus. The plains and forests of the Greeks were peopled with satyrs and fauns, at whose dances there was not one of their poets who had not assisted; while an entirely new system of nature did not excite any new idea in the minds of the Spaniards. They were neither affected with the variety of the plants and animals, nor with the picturesque manners of a race of men till that time unknown. What, then, could engage their attention? Slaughter, carnage, and plunder. The search for gold, which kept them bent towards the foot of the mountains, reduced them to the posture and to the stupidity of brutes.

As early as the times of Hercules and Theseus, the Greeks had imagined the existence of a nation of Amazons. With this fable they embellished the history of all their heroes, not excepting that of Alexander; and the Spaniards, infatuated with this dream of antiquity, transferred it to the New World. We can scarce find a

more probable origin of the opinion they established both in Europe and America, of a republic of female warriors actually existing; who did not live in society with men, and only admitted them once a-year, for the purposes of procreation. To give the more credit to this romantic story, it was reported, not without reason, that the women in America were all so unhappy, and were treated with such contempt and inhumanity, that many of them had agreed to shake off the yoke of their tyrants. It was further said, that, being accustomed to follow the men into the forests, and to carry their provisions and baggage when they went out to fight or to hunt, they must necessarily have been inured to hardships, and rendered capable of forming so bold a resolution.

But it is absurd to imagine, that women, who had so fixed an aversion for men, would ever consent to become mothers; nor is it likely that the men would go in quest of their wives, when they had made their lives insupportable at home, and always turned them away as soon as they had no more occasion for them. Much less can it be supposed, that the softer and more compassionate sex would expose or strangle their own children, because they were boys; and coolly and deliberately agree to commit such enormities as none would be guilty of, but a few individuals urged by rage and despair. Neither could an aristocratical or democratical republic, which it requires abilities to govern, be ruled by a senate of women; though a monarchical or despotic state, in which it is only necessary to command, hath been, and may still be, swayed by a female.

Let us consider the weakness of organization in women; their almost constant valetudinarian state; their natural pusillanimity; the severity of the labours required in a social state, in times of peace or war; their abhorrence of blood; their fear of dangers; and let us then endeavour to reconcile all these circumstances with the possibility of a female republic.

If some strange prejudices have been able to form societies of both sexes amongst us, who live separate, notwithstanding that natural attraction which was intended to unite them, it is not consistent with the nature of

things, that chance should have produced a nation of men without women, and still less a nation of women without men. Certain it is, that, since this political constitution hath been talked of, infinite pains have been taken to find it out, but no traces of it could ever be discovered. This singular prodigy, therefore, will be like many others, which are always supposed to exist, though we know not where.

Whatever may be the case with regard to this circumstance of the Amazons, the voyage of Orellana excited more curiosity than it procured information. An opportunity of satisfying it did not occur for some time, on account of the civil wars that disturbed Peru; but, when tranquillity was restored, Pedro d'Orsua, a gentleman of Navarre, distinguished by his wisdom and courage, offered the viceroy, in 1560, to resume that navigation. He set out from Cusco with seven hundred men. These sanguinary people, inveterate enemies to all worthy persons, massacred their chief, who was a man of good morals, and attached to order and regularity. They set up at their head, with the title of king, a native of Biscay, of a ferocious disposition, whose name was Lopez d'Aguirre, and who promised them all the treasures of the New World.

Intoxicated with such flattering hopes, these barbarians sailed down the river Amazon into the ocean, and, landing at Trinidad, murdered the governor, and plundered the island. The coasts of Cumana, Caraccas, and St. Martha, were still more severely treated, because they were richer. They then penetrated into New Granada, and were advancing to Quito, and into the interior part of Peru, where every thing was to be destroyed by fire and sword. A body of troops, hastily assembled, attacked these desperate men, beat and dispersed them. D'Aguirre, seeing no way to escape, marked his despair by an atrocious act. "My child," said he, to his only daughter, who attended him in his expeditions, "I thought to have placed thee upon a throne, but the event hath not answered my expectation: My honour and thine own will not permit thee to live, and to be a slave to our enemies; die, therefore, by a father's hand." Saying this, he

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instantly shot her through the body, and then put an end to her life, by plunging a dagger into her heart. After this unnatural act, his strength failed, and he was taken prisoner, drawn and quartered.

After these unfortunate events, the river of the Amazons was entirely neglected, and was totally forgotten for half a century. Some attempts were afterwards made to resume the discovery of it, but they were ill concerted and no better executed. The honour of conquering these difficulties, and of acquiring a useful knowledge of that great river, was reserved to the Portuguese.

That nation, which still retained some remains of her former vigour, had, some years before, built a town at the entrance of the river, which was called Belem. Pedro Texeira sailed from this place in 1638, and with a great number of canoes, full of Indians and Portuguese, went up the river of the Amazons, as far as the mouth of the Napo, and then up the Napo, which brought him almost to Quito, where he arrived by land. Notwithstanding the enmity subsisting between the Spaniards and Portuguese, though subjects of the same master, Texeira was received with that regard, esteem, and confidence, which were due to a man who was doing a signal service. He returned in company with d'Acugna and d'Artieda, two learned Jesuits, who were commissioned to verify his observations, and to make others. An accurate account of these two successful voyages was sent to the court of Madrid, where it gave rise to a very extraordinary project.

The communication between the Spanish colonies had long been found very difficult. Some pirates, who were at enmity with them, infested the North and South seas, and intercepted their navigation. Even those of their ships which had got to the Havannah, and joined others, were not perfectly safe. The galleons were frequently attacked and taken by whole squadrons, and always pursued by privateers, who seldom failed to carry off the straggling vessels that were parted from the convoy, either by stormy weather, or by sailing more slowly than the rest. The Amazon river seemed as if it would obviate all these difficulties. It was thought possible, and

even an easy matter, to convey thither the treasures of New Granada, Popayan, Quito, Peru, and Chili itself, by navigable rivers, or at a small expence by land. It was thought, that coming down the river, they would find the galleons ready in the harbour of Para to receive them. The fleet from Brazil would then have joined, and consequently strengthened, the fleet from Spain. They would then have sailed with great security in latitudes little known and little frequented, and would have arrived in Europe at least with a formidable appearance; or might really have been in a condition to surmount any obstacles they might have met with. The revolution which placed the duke of Braganza on the throne put an end to these important projects. Each of the two nations was then only intent upon securing to itself that part of the river which best suited its own situation.

The Spanish Jesuits undertook to set up a mission in the country lying between the banks of the Amazon and of the Napo, as far as to the conflux of both these rivers. Every missionary, attended only by one man, took with him hatchets, knives, needles, and all kinds of iron tools, and penetrated into the thickest of the forests. There they spent whole months in climbing up the trees, to see if they could discover some hut, perceive any smoke, or hear the sound of any drum or fife. When they were assured that some savages were in the neighbourhood, they advanced towards them. Most of them fled, especially if they were at war. Those whom the missionaries could come within reach of were easily bribed by such presents as their ignorance made them set a value upon. This was all the eloquence they had in their power, or all they had any occasion to employ.

When they had assembled a few families, they led them to the place they had fixed upon to form a village. The savages were not easily prevailed upon to take up their abode there. As they were used to rove about, they found it an unsupportable hardship to remain always in the same place. The state of independence in which they had lived, they thought preferable to the social life that was recommended to them: and their unconquerable aversion for labour induced them continually to return

to the forests where they had passed their lives in idleness. Even those who were restrained by the authority or the paternal kindness of their legislator, seldom failed to disperse in his absence, though ever so short. But his death at last occasioned a total subversion of the settlement.

It is impossible that any reader who reflects should not be desirous of knowing what strange infatuation can induce an individual, who enjoys all the conveniences of life in his own country, to undertake the laborious and unfortunate function of a missionary ; to quit his fellow-citizens, his friends, and his relations ; to cross the sea, in order to bury himself in the midst of forests ; to expose himself to all the horrors of the most extreme misery ; to run the risk, at every step, either of being devoured by wild beasts, or massacred by savages ; to settle in the midst of them ; to conform himself to their manners ; to share their indigence and their fatigues ; to be exposed to their passions, or caprices, for at least as long a time as is required to learn their language and to make himself understood by them.

If this conduct be ascribed to the enthusiasm of religion, what more powerful motive can be imagined ? If to respect for the vows of obedience taken to superiors, who have a right to order them to go anywhere, and who cannot be asked the reason for those orders, without committing the crime of perjury and apostacy, what good, or what evil, is it not in the power of hypocritical or ambitious masters to do, who command so absolutely, and who are so servilely obeyed ? If it be the effect of a deep sense of compassion for a part of the human species, whom it is intended to rescue from a state of ignorance, stupidity, and misery, what virtue can be more heroic ? With respect to the constancy with which these extraordinary men persevere in so disgustful an undertaking, I should have imagined, that by living so long among the savages they would have become savages themselves : but I should have been deceived in this conjecture. It is, on the contrary, one of the most laudable of human vanities that supports them in their career.

“ My friend,” said once to me an old missionary, who had lived thirty years in the midst of the forests, and who,

since he had returned into his own country, had fallen into a profound melancholy, and was for ever regretting his beloved savages; "My friend," said he, "you know not what it is to be the king, almost even the God, of a number of men, who owe to you the small portion of happiness they enjoy; and who are ever assiduous in assuring you of their gratitude. After they have been ranging through immense forests, they return, overcome with fatigue and inanition; if they have only killed one piece of game, for whom do you suppose it to be intended? It is for the FATHER; for it is thus they call us: and indeed they are really our children. Their dissensions are suspended at our appearance. A sovereign does not rest in greater safety in the midst of his guards than we do surrounded by our savages. It is among them that I will go and end my days."

With this persevering spirit, the Jesuits had conquered, upon the Amazon, obstacles apparently invincible. Their mission, which began in 1637, consisted, in 1766, of ten thousand inhabitants, who were distributed in thirty-six villages, twelve of which were situated along the Napo, and twenty-four on the banks of the Amazon. They were from two to ten, fifteen, or sometimes twenty, days journey distant from one another. In most of the villages lived people belonging to several nations, who were all obstinately attached to their customs and to their manners, and could never be brought to consider themselves as members of the same community. The efforts that were made to extend this settlement were not, nor could they be successful.

The women of this part of America are not fruitful, and their barrenness increases when they remove from one place to another. The men are of a feeble habit, and the custom they have of bathing constantly, by no means contributes to increase their strength. The climate is not healthy, and contagious distempers are frequent. It hath never been possible, and probably never will be, to inspire the savages with an inclination for agriculture. Their chief delight is in fishing and hunting; amusements which are by no means favourable to the increase of population. In a country which is almost all under water, there are few convenient situations

to form a settlement upon. Most of them are at so great a distance from each other, that they cannot possibly furnish any mutual assistance. The nations which one might endeavour to incorporate are also too far separated; most of them are intrenched in inaccessible places, and are so inconsiderable, that they often consist only of five or six families.

Of all the Indians the Jesuits had collected, and whom they governed, none were so lifeless or so incapable of being animated as these. Every missionary was obliged to put himself at their head, in order to make them pick up the cocoa, vanilla, and sarsaparilla, that nature plentifully offers them, and which are sent every year to Quito, three hundred leagues off, that they may be bartered for articles of primary necessity. Their whole property consists of a hut, open on all sides, made of a few osiers, and covered on the top with palm leaves, a few implements of husbandry, a lance, bows and arrows for hunting, fishing-tackle, a tent, a hammoc, and a canoe. It hath not been possible to inspire them with desires beyond these. They are so well satisfied with what they possess, that they wish for nothing more; they live unconcerned, and die without fear. They may be said to be happy, if happiness consist more in an exemption from the uneasy sensation that attends want, than in the multiplicity of enjoyments that our wants require.

This infant state, the offspring of religion alone, hath been hitherto of no service to Spain, and it can hardly be expected it ever should. However, the government of Maynas, with its capital Borja, have been formed there. The destroyers of America have never thought of establishing any settlement in a country where there are no mines, nor any of those rich commodities which so powerfully allured their covetousness; but this country hath sometimes attracted the neighbouring savages.

While some missionaries were establishing the authority of the court of Madrid on the banks of the Amazon, others were doing the same service to the court of Lisbon. Six or seven days journey below the settlements of St. Ignacio de Pevas, the last under the jurisdiction of Spain, is St. Paul, the first of the numerous villages formed by the Portuguese, at a very great distance from each other,

on the banks of the largest river, and on those of the small ones that fall into it.

If the Maynas were at liberty to form connections with these neighbours, they might acquire by this intercourse some conveniences that they cannot be supplied with from Quito, being separated from that place by the Cordelerias, which cut off the communication more effectually than immense seas would do. This indulgence of government might perhaps be productive of considerable advantages; and, possibly, both Spain and Portugal, though rival powers, might be sensible that it would be for their mutual interest to extend it. It is well known that the province of Quito is poor, for want of an opportunity of disposing of the overplus of those very commodities that are not to be had at Para. The two provinces mutually assisting each other by means of the Napo and of the Amazon, could rise to a degree of prosperity they could never attain without this intercourse. The mother-countries would in time reap great advantages from it, and it could never be prejudicial to them, because Quito could never purchase what is sent from Europe to America, and Para consumes nothing but what Lisbon obtains from foreign countries. But national antipathies, and the jealousies of crowned heads, are attended with the same effects as the passions and prejudices of men in private life. One unfortunate incident is sufficient to divide families and nations for ever, whose greatest interest it is to love and assist one another, and to promote the general good. The spirit of hatred and revenge will rather induce men to submit to suffer than not be gratified. Those passions are constantly kept up by the mutual injuries and the effusion of blood they occasion. How different is man in the state of nature from men corrupted by society! The latter amply deserves all the misfortunes he brings upon himself.

It is a circumstance we have less reason than ever to expect, that any kind of confidence can be established in these countries, between the two European nations that are in possession of them. It hath been for a long time suspected, that the river Amazon and the Oroonoko communicated with each other by means of the Black river,

where the court of Lisbon hath several settlements. This circumstance, which had been so long a matter of contest, was demonstrated in 1744, by some Portuguese boats, which having set out from one of these rivers, sailed into the other. This produced a new source of jealousy, to which the two ministers ought to have put a stop, when their attention was engaged in settling the differences which had too often stained the river Plata with blood.

The Portuguese wish to form settlements on the river Plata. Their disputes with Spain. Accommodations between the two powers.

THE Portuguese, who had appeared upon this great river soon after the Spaniards, were not long before they forgot it. They did not come there again till the year 1553, when they got as far as Buenos-Ayres, and took possession of the northern coast of the provinces. This act had not been attended with any consequences, when the court of Lisbon ordered, in 1680, that the colony of St. Sacrament should be established precisely at the extremity of the territory which they thought belonged to them. This claim appeared to the Spaniards to be ill-founded; and they destroyed these rising walls without much difficulty.

Violent contests immediately arose between the two powers. Spain proved that the new colony was placed in the space allotted to her, by the boundary marked by the popes. The Portuguese did not deny this astronomical truth, but they maintained, that this agreement was annulled by later arrangements, and in a more particular manner by the treaty of 1668, which put a stop to hostilities, and settled the fate of the two nations. It was concluded in 1681, after a multitude of contests, that the Portuguese should again be put in possession of the post they had occupied; but that the inhabitants of Buenos-Ayres, as well as they, should have the enjoyment of all the disputed domains.

The war between the two crowns, in the beginning of the century, broke off this provisional agreement, and in the year 1705 the Portuguese were again driven out of St. Sacrament; but were reinstated in the possession of

it by the peace of Utrecht. This treaty granted them even more than they had ever had; since it insured to them exclusively the whole territory of the colony.

At that period a considerable smuggling trade was begun, between the Portuguese settlement of St. Sacrament, and that of the Spaniards at Buenos-Ayres, in which all parts of the Brazils and of Peru, and even some merchants of the mother-countries, were more or less concerned.

The court of Madrid soon perceived that the treasures of the New World were conveyed into another channel. In order to bring them back again, they did not think of any more certain method, than that of limiting, as much as possible, the staple of these fraudulent connections. Their ministers asserted, that the places under the dominion of the Portuguese ought not to be extended beyond cannon-shot; and they caused all the northern coast of the Plata, from the mouth of that great river, to the settlement which occasioned them such terrible alarms, to be filled up with flocks, sheep-folds, and with the villages of Maldonado and Montevideo, and contrived other known methods of occupying this intermediate space.

These unforeseen enterprises revived everlasting animosities; which had been for a short time suspended by their commercial connections. These neighbouring people carried on a clandestine war with one another. The two nations were upon the brink of an open rupture, when, in 1750, a treaty was proposed, which appeared likely to settle the differences between these two monarchies. By this treaty, the Portuguese exchanged the colony of St. Sacrament, and its territory, for the seven missions formerly established on the eastern coast of the Uruguay.

It was necessary that this treaty should be executed in America; and this was not an easy matter. The Jesuits, who from their earliest origin had opened to themselves a secret road to dominion, might have objected to the dismembering of an empire which owed its existence to their labours. Independent of this great interest, they might have thought themselves responsible for the felicity of a docile set of people, who, by throwing themselves

into their arms, had intrusted them with the care of their future welfare. Besides, the Guaranis had not been conquered; and therefore, when they submitted to Spain, they did not give that crown the right of alienating them from their dominion; without having reflected on the incontestible rights of nations, they might imagine that it belonged to them alone to determine what was conducive to their happiness. The horror they were well known to entertain for the Portuguese yoke, was equally capable of leading them astray, or of enlightening them. So critical a situation required the greatest precautions, and they were attended to.

The forces which the two powers had sent from Europe, and those which could be assembled in the New World, united themselves in order to surmount the obstacles that were foreseen; but these preparations did not terrify the people that were the object of them. Although the seven ceded colonies were not assisted by the other colonies, at least not openly; although they were no more headed by the chiefs, who till that time had led them on to battle, they were not afraid of taking up arms to defend their liberty. But their military conduct was not such as it ought to have been. Instead of contenting themselves with harassing their enemies, and with interrupting the provisions they were obliged to get from the distance of two hundred leagues, the Guaranis ventured to wait for them in the open field. They lost a battle which cost them two thousand men. This considerable check disconcerted their measures; their courage seemed to give way, and they abandoned their territory, without making those efforts which were expected from their first resolution, and which were, perhaps, consistent with their strength.

After this event, the Spaniards attempted to take possession of the colony of St. Sacramento. The Portuguese refused to give it up, alleging that the inhabitants of the Uruguay were only dispersed; and that, till the court of Madrid should settle them in some of their own domains they would always be disposed to recover that territory which they had quitted with so much regret. These difficulties, whether real or imaginary, prevented the conclusion

of the treaty, which was even entirely put a stop to by the two courts in 1761, and every thing fell again into confusion.

From that time, these deserts have been almost incessantly stained with blood; sometimes by hostilities that were not publicly avowed, and sometimes by open wars. Portugal, deprived of the assistance of England, hath at length been obliged to submit. The treaties of the first of October 1777, and of the eleventh March 1778, have deprived it for ever of the colony of St. Sacramento; but they have restored it to the territory of the river St. Peter, which had been taken from it, under the pretences so frequently alleged, of the line of mark.

While these restless and enterprising men were ravaging the Amazon and the Plata, some laborious and peaceable citizens were employed in multiplying on the coast of Brazil important productions, which were delivered to the mother-country, which, in return, supplied them with every thing they were in want of.

The whole trade was carried on by a fleet, which sailed every year from Lisbon and Oporto in the month of March. The ships it consisted of parted when they came to a certain latitude, and proceeded to their respective destinations; but they afterwards all met at Bahia to sail for Portugal, which they reached in September or October the year following, under convoy of the men of war, which had escorted them at their going out.

Portugal had settled its connections with the Brazils upon a bad plan; to which a system of monopoly, still more destructive, was substituted.

A regulation so contrary to maxims generally received was censured by many judicious persons, who thought it would have been better to have left the merchants at liberty to send out their ships, and order them home when it suited them best. This system would have reduced the expence of freight, rendered the voyages more frequent, increased the maritime forces, and encouraged every species of agriculture. The intercourse between the colonies and the mother-country, being more constant,

would have given information which would have enabled government to extend its protection more easily, and to secure its authority.

The court of Lisbon seemed frequently inclined to yield to these considerations, but was deterred by the fear of seeing the ships fall into the enemy's hands if they sailed separately: by custom, the sway of which is still more powerful over government than over individuals; by the insinuations of some men in power, whose interest would have been affected by the revolution; and by variety of prejudices, none of which could have borne the slightest scrutiny.

It was upon this principle that the Portuguese settlements in the Old and in the New World were founded, when the discovery of the gold and diamond mines, in the beginning of the century, fixed the attention of all nations upon the Brazils. It was generally thought that those riches, added to those of another kind furnished by the colony, would render it one of the finest settlements of the globe. The Europeans were not yet undeceived, when they learned with surprise, that the most important part of those regions was just subjected to the yoke of monopoly.

Portugal hath made immense discoveries in Africa, and in the East and West Indies, without the assistance of any company. This had been done by some associations, which kings, nobles, and merchants, had occasionally formed among themselves, and which fitted out fleets more or less considerable, for those three parts of the globe. It was not to be expected that a nation, which, in the barbarous ages, had pursued the inestimable advantages of competition, would, at last, in an enlightened age, adopt a pernicious system, which, by collecting the principles of life and motion into a small part of the body politic, leaves all the rest in a state of inactivity and ruin.

This plan was formed among the ruins of Lisbon, when the earth had, as it were, cast out her inhabitants, and left them no asylum or place of safety but on the sea, or in the New World. The dreadful shocks which had subverted that superb capital were still repeated, and the flames that had reduced it to ashes were scarce extinguished, when an exclusive company was established, for the

purpose of selling to foreign nations, at the Brazils, and even in retail, within the space of three leagues, the wine so well known by the name of port, which is drunk in many of the colonies, in part of the north, and especially in England. This company hath a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000*l.*] divided into two hundred shares, of 2500 livres [104*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*] each. They lend to the proprietors of the vines half the price they are allowed to charge for the vintage; a price which they can never raise, however favourable the year may be. For the best wines, they are paid at the rate of 156 livres five sols [6*l.* 10*s.* 2½*d.*] per ton; but they receive no more than 125 livres [5*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.*] for those of an inferior quality. How great soever the dearth may be, or however considerable the vent, the cultivator can never expect an increase of more than 31 livres five sols [1*l.* 6*s.* 2½*d.*] per ton, and the ton consists of about 220 gallons.

Oporto, which is become the first city in the kingdom for its population, riches, and commerce, since Lisbon had, as it were, disappeared, justly took the alarm, thinking that her trade would be ruined by this fatal alienation of the rights of the whole nation in favour of a company. The province between the Douro and the Minho, the most fruitful in the kingdom, formed no further expectations from its cultures. Despair excited a spirit of sedition among the people; and this gave occasion to the cruelties of the government. Twelve hundred persons were either executed, condemned to public labour, banished to the forts in Africa, or reduced to poverty by odious confiscations of their possessions.

On the 6th of June 1755, an exclusive company, with a capital of 3,000,000 livres [125,000*l.*] divided into twelve hundred shares, was established for the great Para, and for the Maraguan. Four years after, the province of Fernambucca was put under a similar yoke, with this difference, that the latter monopoly had a fund of 3,500,000 livres [145,833*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] which was divided into three thousand four hundred shares. The two societies were authorised to gain fifteen *per cent.* exclusive of all expences, on articles of provisions, and to sell their merchandize for forty-five *per cent.* more than they would

have cost even at Lisbon. They were allowed to pay as little as they chose for the provisions furnished by the districts subject to their tyranny. Such extraordinary favours were to last twenty years, and might be renewed, to the great detriment of the colony.

*Civil, military,
and religious
government
established in
the Brazils.*

THE Brazils are at present divided into nine provinces, which are all governed by a separate commander. Although these several chiefs are expected to conform to the general regulations which the viceroy thinks proper to make, they are independent of his authority, because they receive their orders directly from Lisbon, and because they themselves give an account to that court of the affairs in their department. They are only appointed for three years, but their commission is usually extended beyond that period. They are prohibited by the law from marrying in the country under their jurisdiction; from being concerned in any branch of trade; from accepting any present whatsoever; from receiving any emoluments for the functions of their office; and this law hath been rather strictly observed for some years past. Accordingly, fortunes are at present very seldom made, or even begun, in those posts in the New World. The persons who voluntarily resign are obliged, as well as those who are recalled, to give an account of their conduct to the commissioners appointed by the mother-country; and citizens of all ranks are indiscriminately admitted to impeach them. If they happen to die in their post, the bishop, the highest military officer, and the first magistrate, jointly assume the reins of government till the arrival of the successor.

The jurisprudence of the Brazils is entirely the same as that of Portugal. There is a judge established in each district, from whose decision an appeal may be made to the superior tribunals of Bahia, and of Rio Janeiro, and even to those of Lisbon, if it be upon matters of consequence. The great Para and Maragnan alone are allowed to appeal immediately to the mother-country, without being being obliged to appear before the two interme-

ciate tribunals. In criminal cases, rather a different plan is adopted. The judge of each district hath a right to punish, without appeal, small misdemeanors. The crimes are judged by the governor, assisted by some assessors appointed by the law.

A particular tribunal is established in every province, to take care of the legacies which belong to heirs, whose residence is across the seas. They are allowed to deduct five *per cent.* for their salaries, and the rest is sent to Portugal, to be deposited in a place destined to receive it. The inconvenience of this otherwise judicious institution is, that the Brazilian creditors can only be paid in Europe.

The finances of each province are administered by the commandant and four magistrates. Their account is sent every year to the royal treasury of the mother-country, and scrutinized with great severity.

Every town, and every village, in the least considerable, hath a court of judicature. Their business is to attend to the small concerns they are intrusted with, and to settle, under the inspection of the commandant, the trifling taxes that are necessary. Several privileges have been granted to this tribunal, especially that of having the right to carry any complaint they may have against the head of the colony immediately to the sovereign.

The military are upon the same footing in the Brazils, as in Portugal, and in the rest of Europe. The troops are at the disposal of every governor, who appoints to all the vacant commissions under the rank of captain. He hath the same authority over the militia, which consists of all the citizens that are not *fidalgos*, that is to say, of the first nobility, or who have no public employment. This body of men, who are all obliged to wear a uniform at their own expence, are never assembled in the interior parts of the country, except in cases of absolute necessity; but at Fernambucca, at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro, they are exercised during one month every year, and are then paid by the government. The negroes and mulattoes have standards of their own; and the Indians fight under the same banners as the white men. The colony, at this present time, consists of fifteen thousand eight hundred

and ninety-nine regulars, and of twenty-one-thousand eight hundred and fifty militia.

Though the king, as grand-master of the order of Christ, be solely in possession of the tithes ; and though the produce of the crusade belong entirely to him ; yet, in this extensive part of the New World, six bishoprics have been successively founded, which acknowledge for their superior the archbishopric of Bahia, established in the year 1552. The fortunate prelates, most of them Europeans, who fill these honourable sees, live in a very commodious manner upon the emoluments attached to the functions of their ministry, and upon a pension of twelve hundred, and from that to thirty thousand livres [from 50*l.* to 1250*l.*] granted to them by the government.

Among the inferior clergy, none but the missionaries who are settled in the Indian villages are paid by government ; but the others find sufficient resources among the superstitious people, whom they are to edify, to instruct, and to comfort. Beside an annual tribute, paid by every family to the clergyman, he is entitled to forty sols [1*s.* 8*d.*] for every birth, every wedding, and every burial. The law which reduces this contribution to one half for poor people, and to nothing for those that are entirely indigent, is seldom observed. The avidity of the priests hath even been carried so far as to double this shameless salary, in the districts of the mines.

Some few asylums for maidens have been suffered at Bahia, and at Rio Janeiro ; but it hath never been allowed to establish nunneries in the Brazils. The monks have been more successful ; and there are at present twenty convents of different orders, the two richest of which are occupied by benedictines, who are as idle as they are licentious. None of these fatal establishments are founded in the gold countries. The Jesuits had taken advantage of the influence they had over government, to evade the law, which forbade any regular orders to settle in those regions. No institution hath been powerful enough since their expulsion, to extort so signal a favour.

Though there be not absolutely an inquisition in the Brazils, the people of that country are not protected from the outrages of that barbarous institution. The ecclesiastics of the colony, who are appointed by that tri-

bunal to be their agents, are all of them imbued with the same sanguinary maxims. Their merciless severity is mostly provoked by accusations of Judaism. This sort of fury rose to such an enormous height, from 1702 to 1718, that the minds of all men were impressed with terror, and most of the cultures were neglected.

There is no particular ordonnance in the Brazils for slaves, and they ought to be tried by the common law. As their masters are obliged to feed them, and that it is become a general custom to allot them a small piece of ground, which they are allowed to cultivate for their own emolument, those among them who are industrious and laborious are, sooner or latter, enabled to purchase their liberty. It is seldom refused them; and they may even demand it, at the price settled by the regulations, when they find themselves oppressed. It is, probably, for this reason, that notwithstanding the great facility they have for eloping, yet there are few fugitive negroes throughout this vast continent. Those few, who are found in the country of the mines only, employ themselves quietly at a distance, in cultivating the productions necessary for their subsistence.

Such of the negroes as have purchased their liberty enjoy the rights of citizens as well as the mulattoes; but they are both excluded from the priesthood, and from any civil employment. Even in the service they can have no commission, except in their own battalions. The white men seldom marry the negro women; most of them go no farther than to form illegal connections, with them. These connections, which have the sanction of the manners of the country, differ scarcely from matrimony, in regions where men dispose of their fortunes in conformity to their caprices and passions.

THE state of the Indians hath not always been the same: at first they were seized upon, sold in public markets, and compelled to work like slaves in the plantations.

Former and present state of the Indians subject to Portugal in the Brazils.

In 1570, Sebastian forbade that any Brazilian should be made a slave, except such as had been taken prisoners in a just war: but this law was not attended to, because the Portuguese would

have thought themselves disgraced in tilling the ground ; and at that time few cultivators had been sent to Africa.

The edict of Philip II, which, in 1595, confirmed the orders of Sebastian, and which even reduced to ten years the term of slavery, to those whom that prince had allowed to be kept in perpetual servitude, was equally disregarded.

Two mandates, of 1605 and 1609, again declared all the Indians, without exception, to be entirely free. Philip III, being informed that his commands were not obeyed, issued a third law, by which those who infringed it were condemned to severe penalties. But, at that period, the colony was still governed by a court of judicature, most of the members of which were born in America itself ; so that the new arrangements were not much more respected than the old ones had been.

In the meanwhile, the missionaries were every day exclaiming, with greater vehemence, against the tyranny with which their converts were oppressed. In 1647, the new court of Lisbon gave way to their pressing solicitations, and formally renewed the orders which forbade the detaining of any Brazilian in slavery. The spirit of independence, which manifested itself throughout the whole colony, convinced that still tottering power, that they were not allowed to do every thing that was just ; and, eight years after, their orders were qualified, by permitting that those individuals who were born of a negro mother and of an Indian father might be kept in slavery.

The Dutch had just then been driven from this part of the New World. The connections with the coast of Africa, which had been interrupted by the bloody wars the Portuguese had been obliged to sustain against those republicans, resumed their former course. The population of the negroes was increased in the Brazils. Their services soon disgusted the Portuguese of the natives of the country, who were weaker, and not so laborious. Those who perished were not replaced ; and that species of servitude was, by degrees, abolished everywhere, except at St. Paul, at Maragnan, and on the Amazon river, at which places there were not yet any rich settlements, and where the Portuguese were not capable of purchasing slaves. The decrees issued in 1680, 1713, 1741, to ex-

tirpate these remains of barbarism, were of no effect ; and it was not till 1755 that all the Brazilians became really free.

At this period they were declared citizens by government ; they were to enjoy that title in the same manner as their conquerors. The same road was laid open to their talents ; and they were allowed to aspire at the same dignities. An event so much calculated to excite the emotions of a feeling heart, was scarce attended to. Pleasure, fortune, war, politics, engross every body's attention, while a revolution, so favourable to humanity, almost generally escapes our notice ; and that even in the eighteenth century, in the midst of that enlightened and philosophical age. The happiness of nations is much talked of, but is neither perceived nor felt.

All the faulty operations of government are attacked with severity ; and when they, by chance, happen to do any good act, a general silence is observed. Is this the kind of acknowledgement which the people owe to those who attend to their happiness ? Or, is this sort of ingratitude calculated to attach them to their laborious offices ? Is it thus they can be induced to fill them with distinction ? If the people expect that their murmurs and their discontents should be attended to when they are oppressed, they should express their joy in the most lively manner when they have obtained redress. Whenever the burden of the taxes hath been alleviated, let the houses be illuminated ; let them assemble in multitudes, and fill the houses and the streets ; let them light up bonfires, and dance and sing round them ; let them pronounce with transport the name of their benefactor. Is there one among all the directors of the empire who would not be gratified with such homage ? Is there one who could ever resolve to quit his place, or who could die without having received it ? Is there a man who would not be desirous of increasing these triumphs ? Is there one whose grandchildren would not feel a noble pride in hearing it said of him, his ancestor was the man who occasioned the lighting up of bonfires four or five times, during the course of his administration ? Is there one who would not be ambitious of bequeathing such a mark of distinction to his descendants ? Is there a man who would dare to have engraved upon

his tomb the post he had filled in his lifetime, without mentioning the public festivals that had been celebrated in his honour? Such a silence would transform the inscription into a satire. The people are equally subject in prosperity as in adversity; they know not how to complain, or how to rejoice.

Some men, more attentive to the interesting scenes that are displayed from time to time on the surface of the globe, conceived a good opinion of the new system. They flattered themselves that the Indians would apply themselves to cultivation, and multiply the productions; that their labours would enable them to procure for themselves numberless conveniences which they had not yet enjoyed; that the sight of their happiness would disgust the savages of their forests, and would determine them to a more quiet way of living; that an entire confidence would gradually be established between the Americans and the Europeans; and that they would in time become one people. They flattered themselves that the court of Lisbon would have the prudence not to disturb so desirable a harmony by any particular distinctions; that they would endeavour, by all possible means, to obliterate the memory of those evils which they had brought upon the New Hemisphere.

But how far are we from seeing these flattering hopes fulfilled! In the provinces of Fernambucca, of Bahia, of Rio Janeiro, and of Minas-Geraes, the Brazilians continue to be mixed with the Portuguese and with the negroes, but without any change in their characters, because no pains have been taken to enlighten them; because no efforts have been made to overcome their natural laziness; because no lands have been distributed to them; and because nothing hath been given them in advance, by which their emulation might probably have been excited.

At Para, at Maragnan, at Matto-Grosso, at Goyas, and at St. Paul, the Indians have been united in a hundred and seventeen villages, over each of which a white man presides. It is his business to settle the occupations, to direct the cultures, to buy and to sell for the community, to punish and to reward. It is he who delivers to the agents of government the tenth of the territorial pro-

ductions. It is he who appoints those among them who are obliged to submit to the labours of vassalage with which they are oppressed. These subaltern agents, dispersed in the several colonies, are superintended by a chief, who is vested with great authority.

The opinions of men have been divided respecting these regulations. A writer, who hath never been out of Europe, would be considered as a very bold man, should he venture to decide between two parties, which an experience of three centuries hath not been able to reconcile. But let me at least be permitted to observe, that one of the most enlightened men that ever lived at the Brazils, hath frequently told me, that the Indians, who are suffered to be their own masters in the Portuguese colony, are very superior in understanding and industry to those who are kept under perpetual tuition.

THE government of Para is the most *Present state of*
northern of any of these colonies. It *the government*
comprehends that portion of Guiana *of Para.*
which belongs to the Portuguese; the
borders of the Amazon, from the conflux of the Madeira
and the Mamore; and to the east, all that space which
extends as far as the river of the Tocantines. This is
the most barren and the most unwholesome country in
these regions.

No productions can be expected in Guiana, except no
the Black river, the elevated banks of which would be
very fit for all the productions that enrich the best co-
lonies of America. But this country is only inhabited
by Indians, who are almost solely employed in the turtle
fishery, and whom it hath not yet been possible to fix to
any thing but the cutting of some woods for cabinet-
work. This river receives that of Cayari, where, in
1749, a silver mine was discovered, which undoubtedly,
for some political reasons, hath never been worked.

The borders of the Amazon, on the north side, are
almost under water. The small quantity of dry land
that is found there is perpetually infested with all kinds
insects.

Though the south part of the Amazon be marshy in
many places, yet its soil is commonly more firm, and less

infested with reptiles. The great and numerous rivers which empty themselves into it afford still greater resources for cultivation, and yet there is no settlement formed upon them.

The Portuguese navigators did not enter the Amazon before the year 1535. Ayres d'Acunha and his followers were almost all shipwrecked there. It was not till 1615, that Francis Caldeira laid the foundations of a town, which was called Belem, on the banks of the rivers. In 1663, the territory of Macapa was given by government to Bento Maciel Parente, and afterwards the island of Joanna to Macedo: but these two grants have been since reunited to the crown; the first by the extinction of the family that had obtained it, and the second by exchanges.

The Portuguese contented themselves, for a long time, with making excursions of greater or less extent, to carry off some Brazilians. They were a set of turbulent and daring savages, who were endeavouring to subdue other savages less strong and less courageous than themselves. These destructive fatigues, these unavailing cruelties, had lasted for the space of a century, when some missionaries undertook to civilize the wandering Indians. They have assembled no inconsiderable number of them in seventy eight villages, but without being able entirely to fix them there. After having spent four or five months in a sedentary and idle life, these men, attracted by their ancient habits, forsook their habitations and families, in order to gather in the forests the productions of uncultivated nature, which, with very little labour, they might have procured at home, or might have substituted to them others of a superior quality. The wild cacao, the vanilla, the tortoise, and crab-shells, the sarsaparilla, the caviu balsam, and the vegetable wool, which are collected in these ruinous excursions, that are renewed every year, are carried to Belem, the capital of the government.

This town, which is built at the distance of twenty leagues from the sea, and upon a soil that rises thirteen feet above the level of the ocean, was for a long time nothing more than a staple, to which the riches of the

savages were conveyed from the inland country. Some negroes, whom it hath at last procured, have cultivated in its neighbourhood a small quantity of cotton, which is afterwards manufactured in the country itself; and some sugar-canes, the indifferent produce of which is afterwards made into brandy. They have also cultivated coffee, rice, and cacao, for exportation. The sale of the flocks, which grazed in the island of Marajo, was for a considerable time one of their resources. At present they have scarce oxen enough remaining for their own consumption.

Before the year 1755, this establishment received every year from the mother-country from thirteen to fourteen ships. Since it hath been subjected by a mistaken or corrupted ministry to a monopoly, it receives no more than five or six. The value of its exports seldom exceeds 600,000 livres [25,000*l.*] This feeble produce is not much increased by the wood for building, which the government buys up, and carries away upon its ships.

The population of the colony consists of four thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, of nine thousand nine hundred and nineteen black slaves, or free mulattoes, and of thirty-four thousand eight hundred and forty-four Indians.

This country, which in 1778 hath been relieved from the oppression necessarily attending an exclusive privilege, will undoubtedly avail itself of its liberty. The port of Belem, which is called Para, a name which is likewise sometimes given to the city, doth not oppose so many obstacles to the success of any enterprise as is commonly imagined. It is, indeed, difficult of access. Currents which run in contrary directions, and which are occasioned by a multitude of small islands, render the navigation of ships slow and uncertain. But when once they get into the harbour, they anchor in a muddy bottom, with four, five, or six fathom of water. The canal which leads up to it grows, however, more shallow every day; and in a short time it will not be practicable, if, as it must be supposed, the waters continue to deposit as much earth as they have dragged into it for this last century.

State of the government of Maragnan,

THE Maragnan is separated from the Para on the north by the river of the Tocantines, from Goyaz on the south by that of the Cordeleirias mountains, which is called Guacaragua, and on the west from Fernambucca by Ypiapaba mountains.

The Portuguese arrived for the first time in this province in 1535; and they were cast upon it by a storm; but they did not settle there till 1599. The French seized upon it in 1612, and were driven from thence three years after. It remained under the yoke of the Dutch from 1641 to 1644; at which period the first usurpers again took possession of it, and have kept it ever since.

The business of collecting the ambergris upon the coasts, which was the amusement of the savages, became the occupation of the first Europeans. This trifling resource was soon exhausted; and no other was substituted to it, as there ought to have been. The settlement continued for a long time in a languishing state; and it hath been but lately perceived, that the cotton which grew upon this territory was the best in the New World. The culture of this plant increases daily; and, for some years past, that of rice hath been joined to it, though it be of an inferior quality to the rice of the Levant, and even to that of North America. Several attempts have been made to produce silk there; but the climate hath been found totally unfit for it. The project, however, of enriching the country by the culture of indigo, seems to promise much success. The finest arnotto of the Brazils is already gathered there.

The part of the colony first peopled was the island of Saint Louis, which is seven leagues long, and four broad, and which is separated from the continent only by a very small river. There is a town of the same name in it, where all the trade is transacted, although it hath a bad harbour. Some cultivations are carried on there; but the most considerable are on the continent, upon the rivers of Ytapicorié, of Mony, of Iquara, of Pindaré, and of Meary.

In the same government, and towards the back of

the province, is the country of Pauchy, where the inhabitants of St. Paul penetrated in 1571. It was not conquered without much difficulty, and is not yet entirely subdued on the eastern side. Its soil is uneven and sandy, though exceedingly elevated. It is inhabited by shepherds. Upon this soil, which is covered with saltpetre, they rear a considerable number of horses and horned cattle, which are sold to tolerable advantage in the neighbouring countries; but the sheep degenerate there, as well as in the rest of the Brazils, except in the Coritide. Unfortunately, the too frequent droughts, and the excessive heats, very often destroy whole flocks, when sufficient attention is not paid to lead them in time to distant pastures.

The mines of sulphur, alum, copperas, iron, lead, and antimony, are very common and very superficial in these mountains, and yet none of them have been opened. Permission was indeed given, in 1572, to work the silver one which had been discovered three or four years before; but very soon after the court retracted this permission, for reasons that are not known to us.

This government consists of eight thousand nine hundred and ninety-three white men, seventeen thousand eight hundred and forty-four negroes, or free mulattoes, and slaves; and of thirty-eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven Indians, either scattered, or assembled in ten villages. The exportations have not as yet been equal to this degree of population. Their value was little more than 6 or 700,000 livres [from 25,000l. to 29,166l. 13s. 4d.]; but since the monopoly hath been abolished, it must become more considerable.

THE province which follows that of *State of the go-*
Maragnan, and which is called Fer-*vernment of*
nambucca, was formed out of four pri-*Fernambucca.*
vate estates.

Fernambucca itself was given, in 1527, to Edward Coelho; and was reunited to the crown as a conquest, after the Dutch had been driven from it in 1654.

The historian De Barros obtained the district of Paraiba from John III, but he neglected the peopling of

it. Some vagabonds went over it 1560, and in 1591 were subdued by the French, who were soon obliged to evacuate it. Philip III caused a city to be erected upon this royal domain, which is at present known by the name of Notre Dame de Neves.

The property of Rio-Grande, a district which had till then been entirely neglected, was ceded to Emanuel Jordan in 1654. The shipwreck of this enterprising man, at the entrance of the harbour, restored to the hands of government, lands, which were soon after cultivated by some individuals.

It is not known at what time, nor to whom, Tamaraca had been granted; but it became a national possession again soon after the elevation of the house of Braganza to the throne of Portugal.

This flourishing government is at present surrounded by the river St. Francis, and by several branches of the Cordeleirias. The coasts afford a small quantity of cotton. In no country of these regions sugar is to be found in such great perfection as upon those plains which are well watered. The mountains are covered with horned cattle, which supply a great quantity of leather. This district alone furnishes the Brazil wood.

The tree which it is taken from is not perfectly known by the botanists. It is, however, believed, that it is in some respects analogous to the *bresillet* of the Antilles, and to the tara, or poinciana spinosa, of Peru. Those who have described it affirm, that it is tall, very branchy, and covered with a brown bark full of thorns. Its leaves are composed of a common costa, which supports from four to six other costæ, furnished with two rows of small green leaves, shining, and resembling the leaves of box. The flowers, disposed in clusters towards the extremity of the branches, are small, and more odoriferous than those of the lily: they have a calix with five divisions, ten stamina, and five petals, four of which are yellow, and the fifth is of a beautiful red colour. Their pistil becomes an oblong-flattened pod, stuck full of points, and filled with some red seeds.

The bark of this tree is so thick, that the wood is reduced almost to nothing when stripped of it. This wood

is very fit for works of turnery, and takes a good polish : but its principal use is in the red dye, where it supplies the place of double the quantity of logwood. The most arid soils, and the most craggy rocks, are the places which it chiefly delights in.

The trade of this wood is monopolized, and it belongs to the queen's household. The first dealers in this article agreed to receive annually in the magazines of government, where it is deposited, thirty thousand quintals of it, at 30 livres [11. 5s.] the quintal. It was discovered, after several experiments, that this quantity was not consumed in Europe ; and they were obliged to take no more than twenty thousand quintals ; but it was raised to 40 livres [11. 13s. 4d.] the quintal. Such is the present contract, which is in the hands of two Englishmen settled in Portugal. They give 800,000 livres [33,333l. 6s. 8d.] for the wood with which they are furnished, and sell it at Lisbon itself for 1,000,000 livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] The expences they are at amount to 128,000 livres [5333l. 6s. 8d.] and therefore the profits are 72,000 livres [3060l.]

The population of Fernambucca consists of nineteen thousand six hundred and sixty-five white men, thirty-nine thousand one hundred and thirty-two negroes or mulattoes, and thirty-three thousand seven hundred and twenty-eight Indians. There are four harbours fit to receive small vessels. That where the shoal is, which is the port of Olianda, can admit larger ships ; but they are neither conveniently situated, nor in safety.

The island of Fernando de Noronha is at sixty leagues distance from these coasts of Fernambucca ; but it is under its dependence. The Portuguese, who had at first settled there, soon forsook it ; but in 1738, the court of Lisbon, suspecting that the French East-India company meant to take possession of it, built seven forts there, constructed with great skill. They are provided with artillery, and defended with a garrison of regular troops, which is relieved every six months. There are no other inhabitants but a few exiles, a small number of very indigent mestees, and the Indians who are employed in the public labours. Though this soil be deep and good, no kind of cultivation hath ever succeeded there, because

the rains do not fall for three or four years together. From the month of December till the month of April, turtles are the only food; after that time they disappear, and the inhabitants have no resource but in the provisions sent from the continent. There are two harbours for foreign vessels in the island, where ships of all rates are in safety, when north and west winds do not prevail.

State of the government of Bahia.

THE government of Bahia is enclosed by the river St. Francis on the north, by the river Doce on the south, and by the river Preto, one of the arms of the Green river, on the east. It consists of the captainship of Xegerippe, the revolutions of which are not known to us; of the captainship of Itheos, of which George de Figueredo was deprived, after its destruction by the Aimorés Indians; of the captainship of Porto Seguro, which returned to the crown after the extinction of the family of the Tourinhos; and of the country of Bahia which was never a private property.

San Salvador, the capital of this settlement, was for a long time that of all the Brazils. The way to it is by the bay of All Saints, which is two leagues and a half broad at the entrance. On each side stands a fortress, intended rather to prevent landing, than to hinder ships from passing by. It is thirteen or fourteen leagues in length, and interspersed with little islands, which are full of cotton trees, and form an agreeable prospect. It grows narrow towards the bottom, which is sheltered from every attack, and makes an excellent harbour for the most numerous fleets. The town commands this harbour, being built on the slope of a steep hill.

This city contains two thousand houses, which are most of them built with great magnificence. The furniture here is the more rich and elegant, as extravagance in dress is strictly prohibited. By a very old law, which hath often been broken, and which extends to the New World since the year 1749, the Portuguese are forbidden to wear any gold or silver stuffs, or any laced clothes; but their passion for show, which no laws can eradicate, hath induced them to contrive some substitute, and to wear

diamond crosses, medals, and chaplets, or beads, the rich ensigns of a poor religion. The gold they cannot wear themselves they lavish to adorn their domestic slaves.

As the situation of the town will not admit of coaches, the rich who will always be distinguished from the vulgar, have contrived to be carried in cotton hammocs. Supinely stretched upon velvet cushions, and surrounded with silken curtains, which they open and shut at pleasure, those proud and lazy mortals move about more voluptuously, though with less expedition, than in the most easy and elegant carriages.

The women seldom enjoy this luxury. These people, who are superstitious to a degree of fanaticism, will hardly allow them to go to church, covered with their cloaks, on high festivals; and no one is suffered to see them in their own houses. This restraint, which is the effect of an ungovernable jealousy, doth not prevent them from carrying on intrigues, though they are sure of being stabbed to death upon the slightest suspicion. By a lenity more judicious than ours, a girl who, without her mother's consent, or even under her protection, yields to the importunities of a lover, is treated with less severity. But if the father cannot conceal her infamy, by disposing of her in marriage, he abandons her to the scandalous trade of a courtesan. Thus it is that riches bring on a train of vices and corruption, especially when they are acquired by bloodshed and murder, and are not preserved by labour.

The want of society, consequent upon the separation of the sexes, is not the only impediment to the pleasures and enjoyments of life at Bahia. The hypocrisy of some, the superstition of others; avarice within, and pompous parade without; extreme effeminacy, bordering upon extreme cruelty, in a climate where all the sensations are quick and impetuous; the distrust that attends weakness; the indolence that trusts every thing to slaves, whether it relate to pleasure or business; all the vices that are to be found, either separately or collectively, in the most corrupt southern countries, constitute the character of the Portuguese at Bahia. However, the depravity of their manners seems to decrease, since they are become rather more en-

lightened. The acquisition of knowledge, the abuse of which will sometimes corrupt virtuous nations, may refine, if not reform, a degenerate nation; it will at least make crimes less frequent, will cast a varnish of elegance over corruption, and will introduce an hypocritical kind of urbanity, and a contempt for the grosser vices.

Though San Salvador be no longer the capital of the Brazils, yet the province is still the most populous of the colony. It consists of thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and eighty-four white men, and sixty eight thousand and twenty-four negroes. It shares with the other colonies the culture of sugar, cotton, and of some other productions; and hath the advantage over them of the fishery, and of tobacco.

The whale-fishery hath been very anciently established in the Brazils. All the Portuguese of the Old and of the New World had enjoyed, from its first rise, the natural rights of this fishery; but it hath been, for a long time past, subjected to an exclusive privilege, purchased by a company formed at Lisbon, whose ships are freighted at Bahia. Its annual produce consists, at present, of three thousand five hundred and thirty pipes of oil, which, at the rate of 175 livres [7l. 5s. 10d.] the pipe, amounts to 617,750 livres [25,740l. 1s. 8d.] and of two thousand and ninety quintals of whalebone, which at the rate of 150 livres [6l. 5s.] the quintal, amount to 313,500 livres [13,062l. 10s.] These two sums added together, amount to 931,250 livres [38,802l. 1s. 8d.] The monopolizers give to government 300,000 livres [12,500l.] Their expences do not exceed 268,750 livres [11,198l. 8s. 4d.] and their profits amount to 362,500 livres [15,154l. 3s. 4d.]

This branch of industry must be entirely given up, unless it be immediately put upon a different footing. Nothing but an unlimited freedom of trade can possibly sustain the competition of the American traders, whose activity hath already extended itself as far as those distant seas, and still beyond them. The court of Lisbon ought even to encourage, by all possible means, the whale-fishery in the Cape de Verde islands, and in the other islands near the burning shores of Africa, which are at present so useless to them.

Though most of the countries of Brazil furnish a small quantity of tobacco, it may be said, that this article hath if not become an object of consequence anywhere, except at Bahia. It thrives in a space of ninety leagues, and in the district of Cachoeira still better than in any other place. This production had for a long time been enriching the province, when the taxes with which it was loaded, on its exportation from Portugal, raised its price so high as to prevent the consumption of it. There was so little demand for it in foreign markets, that in 1773, the cargoes of it did not exceed eighty-and-twenty thousand quintals. The year following, the duties, which amounted to 27 livres 12 sols [11. 3s.] per hundred weight, were suppressed, and this cultivation immediately recovered its former prosperity. The colonist then received for this commodity 22 livres 16 sols [19s.] per quintal, instead of 12 livres 10 sols [10s. 5d.] which he received before.

¶ Ten thousand quintals of inferior tobacco are sent annually from the Brazils to the coasts of Africa, which being purchased in the colony itself, even at the rate of 18 livres [15s.] per hundred weight, bring in 180,000 livres [7500l.] Fifty-eight thousand five hundred quintals are sent into Portugal, which, at their first entrance into the country, are sold for 40 livres [11. 13s. 4d.] the hundred weight; the total value of which is 2,340,000 livres [97,500l.] and the two sums put together, amount to 2,520,000 livres [105,000l.]

Every speculator is allowed to purchase the tobacco that is conveyed to the mother-country; but it must be deposited in a public warehouse, where it pays two sols six deniers [about five farthings] per quintal to the government for store-room. From this warehouse is taken that quantity of tobacco which the kingdom is not in want of, and which is to be disposed of to foreign nations. Genoa purchases that of the best quality. Spain, as well as Portugal, consumes only the second sort, and Hamburg is satisfied with the most inferior kind of tobacco. It is this which is also purchased by the French, and other navigators who are in want of it for their negro trade.

The purchaser freely applies to the merchants in whom

he confides; but the court of Madrid, who never have any tobacco bought but for smoking, usually employ only one agent, to whom they pay for it at the rate of nine sols [4½d.] the pound.

Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores, where the tobacco is equally monopolised by the crown, do not consume annually, for smoking, more than seven hundred thousand weight of it, which, at the rate of five livres [4s. 2d.] the pound, must amount to 3,520,000 livres [146,666l. 13s. 4d.] and in snuff, only five hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds, which, at the rate of seven livres ten sols [6s. 3d.] per pound, must produce 3,960,000 livres [165,000l.] so that the whole amount of this article is 7,480,000 livres [311,666l. 13s. 4d.] The government, however, does not receive more than 5,481,250 livres [228,385l. 8s. 4d.] The remainder of the sum is expended in the purchase of materials, the expences of preparing the tobacco, and the profits of the people who farm it.

The snuff which is consumed in Africa, and in the East Indies, is likewise under the yoke of monopoly; but it is the queen's revenue. She receives 450,000 livres [18,750l.] for one hundred and fifty quintals, which are annually sent to those distant regions; exclusive of the profits which must arise from the sale of the pepper that is sent from Goa in exchange.

State of the government of Rio Janeiro. THE government of Rio Janeiro almost totally occupies the long coast, which commences at the river Doce,

and ends at that of Rio Grande of St. Peter; and in the inland countries, it is bounded only by the enormous chain of mountains which extends from Una to Minas-Geraes. It has absorbed the captainships of St. Esprit, of Cabofrio, and of the fourth Paraíba, granted by government at different periods, and which have fallen in again in several ways to the domains of the crown.

The cultures remained for a long time in a languid state, in this spacious and beautiful province: but they daily acquire some importance. Tobacco, indeed, is

neither better, nor in greater plenty, than it was formerly; but for these three years past the sugar-canes have multiplied there, and more especially in the plains of Guatacázés. Twelve modern plantations of excellent indigo, announce a more considerable number, and a tolerable quantity of coffee hath been brought from thence by the last ships. The southern districts of the colony, as far as Rio Grande, furnish a great many hides, some flour, and very good salt provisions. There are fourteen, or fifteen different kinds of wood for dyeing, which will soon be cut down; and seven or eight sorts of gums, which will at last be gathered. Two plants were discovered at Bahia, about twenty years ago, which are known by the names of *curuata* and *tocum*, and which might be employed for sails and cordage. A small shrub, infinitely more fit for these purposes, hath been lately discovered on the territory of Rio Janeiro, and is very common. It is sometimes white, sometimes yellow, and sometimes purple; but the first of these colours is the best.

There is no deficiency of hands for the carrying on the labours. The province reckons forty-six thousand two hundred and seventy-one white men, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six Indians, and fifty-four thousand and ninety-one negroes.

The riches that are produced by the labours of these men, either free or slaves, are carried to Rio Janeiro, formerly the capital of all the Brazils, and the place of the viceroy's residence.

It is one of the finest harbours that is known; though narrow at the beginning, it widens gradually. Ships of all denominations enter it with ease, from ten or twelve o'clock in the morning, till the evening, and are carried in by a regular and moderate sea breeze. It is spacious, safe, and convenient. It hath an excellent bottom of mud, and five or six fathom of water in every part.

It was first discovered in 1525 by Dias de Solis. Some French protestants, who were persecuted in their own country, made a small settlement there under the guidance of Villegagnon. This settlement consisted only of fifteen or twenty huts, made of boughs and covered over, with grass, after the manner of the savages in those parts.

Some small bulwarks that were erected for planting of, cannon, occasioned the name of Fort Coligni to be given to it. It was destroyed three years after by Emanuel de Sa, who, in a fertile soil, under a beautiful sky, and at the foot of several mountains, which are disposed in form of an amphitheatre, laid the foundation of a city, which is become famous, since some considerable mines have been discovered in its neighbourhood.

This city is the grand staple of the riches which flow from the Brazils to Portugal, and the harbour where the finest fleets destined for the supply of that part of the New World put in. Beside the treasures that this continual circulation must produce, 3,000,000 livres [125,000*l.*] remain there every year for the expences of government, and a much larger sum, when the ministry of Lisbon think it suitable to their system of politics to have men of war built there.

- A town, where business is so considerable and so constant, must have been successively enlarged and peopled. Most of the citizens live in houses two stories high, built with free stone, or bricks, covered with tolerably fine slate, and ornamented with a balcony surrounded with lattices. It is at these balconies that the women, either by themselves, or attended by their slaves, make their appearance; it is from thence that they cast flowers on the men whom they choose to distinguish, and upon those whom they wish to invite to the most intimate connection between the two sexes. The streets are large and even, terminated by a chapel, where the people sing hymns every evening before a saint, magnificently habited, and fixed up in a gilded niche, well illuminated, and covered with the clearest mirror. There is no public edifice worthy of attention, except a large aqueduct, which conveys the water from the neighbouring heights, and the mint. The churches are all gloomy, low, and evercharged with ornaments, executed without taste.

The morals are the same at Rio Janeiro as at Bahia, and in all the mine countries. Similar thefts, similar treasons, similar revenges, and similar excesses of all kinds prevail, and with equal impunity.

It hath properly been said, that gold was the repre-

sentative of all kinds of riches ; but it might have been added, that it was likewise the representative of happiness and misfortune, of almost all the vices, and of almost all the virtues : for what good or bad action cannot be done by means of gold ? It cannot, therefore, be surprising that nothing should be a check upon us in our attempts to obtain so important an object ! It cannot be surprising, that, when obtained, it should become the source of the most fatal abuses, and that these abuses should be multiplied in proportion to the vicinity and to the abundance of this precious and pernicious metal.

The situation of the city, in twenty-two degrees twenty minutes of southern latitude, placed it at such a distance from the Old World, that it might have been presumed moderate fortifications only would be required for its defence ; but as the temptation for attacking it might become greater, in proportion to the increase of its riches, it was thought proper to add to the works. These were already very considerable, when Du Guay Trouin took it in 1711, with such intrepidity and skill, as redounded much to his honour, and was a great addition to the fame he had already acquired. The new fortifications that have since been added to those the French had mastered, have not made the town more impregnable, as it may be attacked on other sides, where the landing is very practicable. If gold can make its way into brazen towers through iron gates, much more will iron break down the gates that defend gold and diamonds. And, indeed, the court of Lisbon has not thought it sufficient to fortify Rio Janeiro.

In the government of Rio Janeiro, we meet with the island of St. Catherines, nine leagues in length, and two in breadth, and separated from the continent by a narrow channel. Though the land be not low, it is not seen at a distance, because it is shaded by the neighbouring mountains on the continent. Navigators find there a perpetual spring, excellent water, great plenty of wood, a variety of delicious fruits, vegetables, which are so welcome to sailors, and a pure air, except in the harbour, where the hills intercept the circulation of air, and make it constantly damp and unwholesome.

Towards the year 1654, the court of Lisbon gave Saint Catherines to Frances Dias Velho, in the same manner as the other countries in Brazil had been ceded. This captain was killed by an English pirate, and his island became the refuge of vagabonds. These adventurers acknowledged, in a vague manner, the authority of Portugal, but did not adopt the exclusive system of that state. They admitted indiscriminately the ships of all nations that were sailing to the South seas, or to India, and gave them their oxen, their fruits, their pulse, and all their productions, in exchange for arms, brandy, linen, and wearing apparel. Beside their contempt for gold, they shewed an indifference for all the conveniences that nature did not supply them with, which would have done honour to a virtuous people.

The scum and refuse of civilized bodies may sometimes form a well regulated society. The iniquity of our laws, the unjust distribution of property, the miseries of want, the insolence and impunity of wealth, and the abuse of power, often make rebels and criminals. If we collect together all those unfortunate men who are banished from society by the too great rigour, and often the injustice, of the laws, and give them an intrepid generous, humane, and enlightened chief, we shall make these profligate men become honest, tractable, and rational. If their necessities urge them to war, they will become conquerors; and to aggrandise themselves they will violate the rights of nations, though strict observers of their own reciprocal duties; such were the Romans. If, for want of an able leader, they be left to chance and natural events, they will be mischievous, restless, rapacious, unsettled, for ever at war, either among themselves or with their neighbours: such were the Paulists. Lastly, if they can more easily live upon the natural fruits of the earth, or by agriculture and trade, than by plunder, they will contract the virtues proper to their situation, and the mild inclinations that arise from a rational love of ease. Civilized by the happiness and security of an honest and peaceable life, they will respect in others those rights which they themselves enjoy, and will barter the superfluities of their produce for the conveniences of other nations: such were the people who had taken refuge at St. Catherines.

They lived with freedom and tranquillity, when, towards the year 1738, it was thought proper to give them an administration, to send them troops, and to surround their harbour, which was one of the best in America, with fortifications. These means of defence have drawn upon them, in 1778, the arms of Spain, and have not preserved them from an invasion. Since they are returned under the dominion of their former master, in consequence of the reconciliation between the two crowns, they have acquired the cochineal, from which they expect great advantages in future.

The town of St. Paul is thirteen leagues distant from the ocean, in a delightful climate, and in the midst of a country equally favourable for the productions of the two hemispheres. It was built about the year 1570, by the malefactors with which Portugal had infested the coasts of the New World. No sooner did these villains perceive that it was intended to subject them to some system of police, than they abandoned the shores upon which they had been cast by chance, and took refuge on some distant spot, where the power of the laws could not reach them. A situation which a small number of men could defend against a greater number of troops than could be sent against them, inspired them with the boldness of determining to be their own masters; and their ambition was crowned with success. They were recruited and multiplied by other banditti, and by the descendants proceeding from their connections with the women of the country. It is said that all travellers were strictly forbidden to enter this new republic. To obtain an admittance, it was previously necessary to promise to settle there; and candidates were to undergo a severe trial. Those who could not go through that kind of noviciate, or who were suspected of perfidy, were barbarously murdered, as were likewise all who shewed any inclination to quit the settlement.

A pure air, a serene sky, a very temperate climate, though in the 24th degree of south latitude, and a land abounding with corn, sugar, and excellent pasture; all these circumstances conspired to induce the Paulists, to lead a life of indolence, easy, and effeminacy; but that

restlessness so natural to resolute banditti ; that desire of dominion which is nearly connected with a love of independence ; the advances of liberty, which lead men to wish for glory of some kind or other, and to distinguish themselves ; perhaps, all these motives combined, prompted them to forgo an easy life, and to engage in hazardous and troublesome excursions.

They over-ran all the inland parts of the Brazils, from one extremity to the other. All the Indians who resisted them were put to death ; fetters were the portion of cowards ; and several of the inhabitants hid themselves in the mountains, to avoid slavery or death. It would be impossible to enumerate the devastations, cruelties, and enormities, of which these atrocious men were guilty. In the midst of these horrors, however, some colonies were forming under a municipal government, which may be considered as the origin of all the settlements Portugal is at present in possession of in those territories. These small republics, detached, in some measure, from the great one, gradually yielded to the entreaties that were made use of, in order that they should be subjected to an authority which they had never entirely disavowed ; and, in process of time, the Paulists submitted to the crown in the same manner as the other subjects.

That district then became a government ; to which were added, the captainships of St. Vincent and of St. Amaro, which had been given to the two brothers, Alphonso and Peter Lopés de Sousa, their two towns having been destroyed by pirates. This arrangement, for which it is difficult to assign a cause, divides the province of Rio Janeiro in two parts.

The country of St. Paul does not at present consist of more than eleven thousand and ninety-three white men, thirty-two thousand one hundred and twenty-six Indians, and eighty-seven negroes, or mulattoes. It sends nothing to Europe, except a small quantity of cotton ; and its inland trade is confined to the furnishing of Rio Janeiro with flour and salt provisions. It hath been found by some, that flax and hemp would succeed very well there ; and there is no doubt of its being as easy and important to grow silk in the country. The plentiful mines of

iron and tin, which are found between the rivers Theeté and Mogyassu, in the Cordelciras of Paranan-Piacaba, at the distance of four leagues from Sorocoba, might also be worked to great advantage.

THE six provinces we have just been speaking of are situated along the coasts: there are three others, extending from the west to the east, which occupy, in the centre of the Brazils, the large plain from which all the rivers spring that empty themselves into the Paraguay, into the Amazon, and into the ocean. It is the most elevated spot of Portuguese America, and is filled with mountains, running in various directions. Gold is found almost throughout the whole of it; for which reason it is called the mine country.

State of the three inland governments where the mines are situated.

The most important of these rich governments is known by the name of Minas Geraes. It reckons thirty-five thousand one hundred and twenty-eight white men, twenty-six thousand and seventy-five Indians, and one hundred and eight thousand four hundred and six slaves. Its capital is Villa Rica.

Joyas, the capital of which is Villa Boa, contains eight thousand nine hundred and thirty-one white men, twenty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-two Indians, and thirty-four thousand one hundred and four negroes.

Matto Grosso, the only village of which is Villa Bella, hath not yet increased its population beyond two thousand and thirty-five white men, four thousand three hundred and thirty-five Indians, and seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one slaves. It is the most western part of the Portuguese dominions. It is bounded by the Chiquitos, and by the Maxos, who were subjected to Spain by the labours of the Jesuits.

THE knowledge of the gold mines, in this part of the New World, is traced to much more distant periods than is generally thought. As far back as the year 1577, the Paulists discovered some near the mountains of Jaguará; but the

History of the gold mines found in the Brazils. The manner of working them.

unfortunate death of King Sebastian soon occasioned this source of wealth, which at that time had not been of any great advantage either to the state or to individuals, to be forgotten.

In the heights of Jacobino, in the district of Rio das Velhas, new mines were again discovered in 1588, and to as little effect. Philip II, being determined to contain by misery people who bore the Spanish yoke with too much impatience, would not permit them to be worked. If he apparently consented to this, in 1603, it was with a resolution to prevent it; and his base successors adopted his tyrannical policy.

The fortunate revolution which, in 1640, freed the Portuguese of their fetters, was followed by long and obstinate wars. During the course of this violent crisis, the attention of the nation was wholly taken up in the defence of its liberty, and the ministry were always engaged in looking out for the resources of which they were continually in want.

The state of the monarchy began to be searched into, and its improvement to be thought of; when, in 1699, chance offered to some enterprising men great treasures in the province of Minas Geraes. The gifts of bounteous nature were no more disregarded; and, three years after, the court of Lisbon formed the settlements that were necessary to secure the benefit of them. Sabara, Rio das Mortes, Cahoeira, Paracatu, Do Carmo, Rio das Velhas, Rio Doce, and Auro Preto, are the places in that government where gold hath been successively found, and where it is still discovered at this day.

The mines of Goyas were not discovered till 1726: they are situated in the districts of San Felix, Meia Ponta, O Fanado, Mocambo, and Natividade.

In the year 1735, new ones were found in the province of Matto Grosso, at St. Vincent, at Chapada, at St. Anne, at Cuiaba, and at Araés.

Beside these countries, which are called by preference the Mine Regions, the mines of Jacobino and of Rio das Contas are worked in the government of Bahia, as are also those of Parnaguay and Tibogy, in the government of St. Paul; but neither of them are very abundant.

The extraction of gold is neither very labourous, nor dangerous, in those parts of the New World. It is sometimes on the surface of the soil, and this is the purest kind; and, at other times, it is necessary to dig for it to the depth of three or four fathoms, but seldom lower. A layer of sandy earth, known in the country by the name of *saibro*, then usually informs the miners that it would be useless to search any farther. Although, in general, the veins that are regular, and in the same direction, be the richest, it hath been observed, that those spaces, the surface of which was most spangled with crystals, were those which furnished the greatest plenty of gold. It is found in larger pieces upon the mountains, and barren or stony rocks, than in the valleys, or on the borders of rivers. But whatever place it may have been gathered in, it is of three-and-twenty carats and a half on coming out of the mine, unless it be mixed with sulphur, silver, iron, or mercury; a circumstance that is common only at Goyas and Araés.

Every man who discovers a mine, must give notice of it to government. If the vein be thought of little consequence, by persons of the art appointed to examine it, it is always given up to the public. If it be declared to be a rich vein, the government reserve a portion of it to themselves. Another share is given to the commandant; a third to the intendant, and two shares are secured to the discoverer; the rest is divided amongst all the miners of the district, in proportion to their circumstances, which are determined by the number of their slaves. The disputes which this species of property may give rise to, are under the cognizance of the indendant: but an appeal lies from his decrees to the supreme court established at Lisbon, under the title of council *d'outremer*.

The miners are obliged to deliver to the king the fifth part of the gold, which they extract by operations more or less successful. This fifth was formerly considerable, as it exceeded 9,000,000 of livres [375,000*l.*] annually, from the year 1728 to 1734; but it hath since gradually decreased. At present the annual produce of Minas Geraes amounts only to 18,750,000 livres [781,250*l.*]; that of Goyas to 4,687,500 livres [195,312*l.*]

10s.]; that of Matto Grosso to 1,312,500 livres [54,687l. 10s.]; and that of Bahia and St. Paul together, only to 1,562,500 livres [65,104l. 3s. 4d.]. This makes, upon the whole, 25,312,500 livres [1,054,687l. 10s.] of which the government receives 5,062,500 livres [210,937l. 10s.]. The duties for the working of the gold into specie yield 1,647,500 livres [68,645l. 16s. 8d.]; and, at the rate of 2 per cent. they get 393,000 livres [16,375l.] for the conveyance, which is executed by their ships, of all the gold that belongs to trade; so that upon the 25,312,500 [1,054,687l. 10s.] which the mines produce, the ministry take 7,103,000 livres [295,958l. 6s. 8d.]. They would even receive something more, if to the amount of about 600,000 livres [25,000l.] were not annually smuggled without paying the two last-mentioned taxes.

The amount of all the metals constantly circulating in the Brazils is not computed at more than 20,000,000 livres [833,333l. 6s. 8d.].

The first political writers [who turned their thoughts towards the discoveries made in this region of the New World, did not hesitate to foretel, that the difference of value between gold and silver would be diminished. The experience of all countries and of all ages had taught them, that though many ounces of silver had always been given for an ounce of gold, because mines of the former had always been more common than of the latter, yet the value of both metals had varied in every country, in proportion to the abundance of either.

In Japan, the proportion of gold to silver is as one to eight; in China, as one to ten; in other parts of India, as one to eleven, twelve, thirteen, or fourteen, as we advance farther west.

The like variations are to be met with in Europe. In ancient Greece, gold was to silver as one to thirteen. When the produce of all the mines in the universe was brought to Rome, the mistress of the world, the most settled proportion was one to ten. It rose as far as one to thirteen under Tiberius. Numberless and infinite variations are to be met with in the barbarous ages. In a word, when Columbus penetrated into America, the proportion was less than one to twelve.

The quantity of these metals, which was then brought from Mexico and Peru, not only made them more common, but still increased the value of gold above silver, as there was greater plenty of the latter in those parts. Spain, that was of course the best judge of the proportion, settled it as one to sixteen in the coin of the kingdom; and this system, with some slight variations, was adopted throughout Europe.

This proportion still exists; but we have no reason on that account to contradict those who had foretold that it would alter. If gold hath fallen but little in the markets, and not at all in the coin, since the Brazils furnish a great quantity of it, this is owing to particular circumstances, which do not affect the principle. A great deal of gold is now used for setting of jewels, and for gilding, which has prevented the price of it from falling so much as it would have done if our fashions had not altered. It is this same spirit of luxury that hath always kept up the price of diamonds, though they are grown more common.

At all times men have affected to make a parade of their riches, either because they were originally the reward of strength and the mark of power, or because they have everywhere obtained that regard which is due only to abilities and virtue. A desire of attracting the attention of others, prompts a man to ornament himself with the choicest and most brilliant things nature can supply. The same vanity, in this respect, prevails among the savages as in civilized nations. Of all the substances that represent the splendour of opulence, none is so precious as the diamond; nor hath any been of such value in trade, or so ornamental in society. Our women are sometimes dazzling with them. It should seem as if they were more anxious to appear rich than handsome. Are they not then sensible, that a neck and an arm elegantly turned, are a thousand times more attracting when uncovered, than when they are concealed under jewels? that the weight of their ear-

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the nature of
that stone.*

rings disfigures their ears? that the lustre of the diamond only diminishes that of their eyes? that this expensive dress is rather a satire upon their husbands or their lovers, than an encomium upon their charms? that the Venus de Medicis hath nothing but a plain bracelet? and that he who only admires in a fine woman the brilliancy of her jewels, is a man devoid of taste?

There are diamonds of all colours, and of every shade of the several colours. The diamond hath the red of the ruby, the orange of the hyacinth, the blue of the sapphire, and the green of the emerald. This last is the most scarce, and the dearest when it is of a beautiful tint. The rose diamonds, blue and yellow, are the next in value. The yellowish and the blackish are least esteemed. Transparency and clearness are the natural and essential properties of the diamond, to which art hath added the brilliant and sparkling lustre of the several faces.

The diamond is a crystallized stone, of the form of an octohedron, more or less well-shaped. Its surfaces are in the shape of a pyramid, either long or flat; but its solid angles are never so clearly nor so regularly terminated, as they appear in the other crystallized stones, and especially in the rock crystal.

But this does not prevent its crystallization from being regular in the inside. This stone is composed of small layers, exceedingly thin, and so closely joined together as to form a smooth and brilliant surface, even at the parts where they are broken. Notwithstanding this very close connection between the elements of crystallization in the diamond, it can only be polished by finding out the disposition of the layers in their transverse direction, at the point where the extreme end of one layer lies over the other. Without this precaution, the lapidaries would not succeed, and the diamond would not take the polish, as is always the case with those which they call *veiny diamonds*, in which these extremities are not uniform, and in the same direction. The diamond-cutters compare the composition of these stones to the arrangement of the fibres of wood in the knotty parts, where they intersect each other in every direction.

The diamond is superior to any other precious stone,

in its lustre, its fire, and its solidity. To these advantages are added those of being more electrical, of receiving a greater quantity of light, when gently warmed by the fire, or exposed to the rays of the sun, and of retaining this light longer than other bodies, when it is afterwards placed in the dark. These properties, and perhaps likewise some imaginary qualities, have induced natural philosophers to think, that the diamond was formed of a more pure substance than any other stone. Several persons have even imagined it contained some of that primitive adamitical earth, which hath been for so long a time the object of so many laborious inquiries and extravagant speculations.

The hardness of the diamond suggested the idea of its being impossible to be destroyed, even by the most intense fire; and this opinion appeared to be very well founded. Notwithstanding this, the analogy upon this point, deduced from other stones, and especially from those that are composed of quartz, which do not undergo any alteration by fire, was never more defective than in this instance.

There are no accounts of the diamond having been submitted to the action of fire previous to the years 1694 and 1695, when the celebrated Averani exposed one to the focus of a burning-glass, for the information of his pupil John Gaston de Medicis. The celebrated natural philosophers of these times, who assisted at this experiment, beheld with astonishment that the diamond was exhaled in vapour, and disappeared entirely, while the ruby, of a less compact texture than the diamond, only grew softer; and while other precious stones, of a still softer texture, did not experience such considerable alterations. This singular experiment was repeated upon several diamonds with equal success; but the intenseness of the fire employed was a convincing proof that it could not have been done by any other means. These first experiments were buried in oblivion, till the reign of the emperor Francis I, who repeated them at Vienna; exposing diamonds, and other precious stones, to the most intense fire of a furnace. The result was a confirmation of the fact, that diamonds are destroyed with the great-

est case by fire, while other precious stones, even those of the softest kind, are at most but slightly affected.

The facts, though well attested, appeared so extraordinary, and were so contrary to the received prejudices, that they sunk again into oblivion. Though recorded by the contemporary writers, they were nevertheless either unknown, or denied by those who had not been witnesses of them.

At length M. Darcet undertook, in France, in 1758, to expose the diamond to the same heat as procelain. After he had satisfied himself of the truth of the experiments made in Germany, he communicated them to the academy of sciences, and afterwards repeated them in the midst of Paris, in order that they might be established with all possible authenticity. As this able philosopher hath since varied and combined his experiments, the incontestible result of them, and of those that hath been made after him, is, that the diamond evaporates and burns away readily in the fire and in the open air; and that the complete destruction of it, far from requiring the intense heat which it had been exposed to before his time, scarce requires the degree of heat necessary to keep fine silver in fusion.

M. Darcet hath moreover proved, that the diamond can be destroyed, not only in the open air, but likewise in crucibles made of the best baked procelain, and hermetically sealed, provided the crucibles be put in the fire of large glasshouses, or in the intense fires for making procelain, and which have been long kept up.

The most active menstruums, such as alkaline salts in fusion, and the most concentrated minerals, assisted even by the heat of fire, have no effect upon the diamond. It is not affected by their action; it does not mix with any glass in vitrification; it does not unite with any substance that is yet known; and these qualities are equally common to the diamond of India as to those of Brazil; to the white diamonds, as to those that are black or coloured; to the perfect diamonds, and to the veiny diamonds, which cannot be worked.

Such are the particular properties of this substance, which is hitherto unparalleled in nature; that although it possesses all the external appearances of other stones,

it hath not the least affinity to them in the nature of its composition; that, notwithstanding its excessive hardness, it is the only one of the species which doth not resist the action of even a moderate fire, but is entirely dissipated by it. Thus it is that nature, in her three kingdoms, displays an infinite variety of surprising irregularities. Sometimes she seems to confine herself in the chain and scale of beings, to the order of almost imperceptible differences; and sometimes, breaking through every kind of series, she takes a sudden flight, leaving an immense void behind her, and fixes two distant boundaries, the intervals of which it is impossible to fill up. Thus it is that certain vegetables already enjoy some of the advantages of animal life! It is the same thing with gold, with mercury, and with sulphur, compared to other mineral and metallic substances. It is the same, in a word, with man, who leaves all other animals at so great a distance behind him.

There are very few diamond mines. Till of late years, we knew of none but in the East Indies. The oldest is on the river Gouel, that issues from the mountains, and falls into the Ganges. It is called the mine of Solempour, from the name of a village built near that part of the river where the diamonds are found. Very few diamonds have ever been taken out of it, any more than out of the Succadan, a river in the island of Borneo. The chain of mountains that extends from cape Cormorin to Bengal hath yielded much more.

There is a great variety in the soil from whence the diamonds are extracted. Several of these mines are six, eight, and sometimes as far as twelve feet deep, in a sandy and stony soil; others are found in a species of ferruginous mineral, where they are fifty fathoms deep. But in all parts this singular stone is insulated, and doth not seem to adhere to any basis, or to any rock. It is surrounded on all sides by a thin pellicle, rather opaque, and of the nature of the diamond itself. This pellicle is commonly covered over with a crust not very solid, which is formed by the surrounding earth or sand.

The Europeans, except a few inquisitive travellers, do not frequent the mines of Indostan. They are worked by

the natives, who deliver the diamonds to the rich Banians, who carried them formerly to Madras; but who, since the roads have been made, begin to convey them to Calcutta. The whole of this branch of commerce is almost entirely fallen, for a considerable time past into the hands of a few Englishmen, who trade on their own account. They sort the stones of different weight, and of different qualities, and put them into proper bags, which are sealed up, and sold in London with their invoice. Reckoning the six last years as one common year, the united value of all these diamonds hath amounted annually to 3,420,000 livres [142,500*l.*] To this estimate, which only comprehends what is registered, must be added what hath been concealed, in order to avoid the duty of two and three quarters *per cent.* which must be paid to the India company.

Among these diamonds there was one found of an irregular shape, and which weighed 193 carats when cut. It was the property of an American, who refused to cede it to the empress of Russia for the sum of 2,500,000 livres [104,166*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*] beside a life annuity of 25,000 livres [1041*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] This merchant met with no purchaser, and thought himself very fortunate when count Orloff, some time after, renewed the offer of 2,500,000 livres [104,166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] but without the annuity. In 1722, Catherine condescended to accept on her festival day, this valuable present from the hands of her favourite.

It was to be feared, that the revolutions which so frequently subvert Indostan would occasion a scarcity of diamonds; but this apprehension was removed by a discovery which was made in 1728, at Brazil, upon some branches of the river das Caravelas, and at Serro de Frio, in the province of Minas-Geraes.

Some slaves, condemned to search for gold, used to find some little bright pebbles mixt with it, which they threw away as useless among the sand and gravel. Antonio Rodrigues Banha suspected the value of them, and communicated his idea to Pedro de Almeida, the governor of the country. Some of these brilliant pebbles were sent to the court of Lisbon, who, in 1730, commissioned d'Acunha, their minister in Holland, to have them exa-

mined. After repeated experiments, the artists pronounced them to be very fine diamonds.

The Portuguese immediately gathered them with so much diligence, that the Rio Janeiro fleet brought home eleven hundred and forty-six ounces. This plenty lessened their price considerably; but the measures taken by an attentive ministry soon made them rise to their original value. They conferred the exclusive right of searching for diamonds on a few wealthy associates; and in order even to restrain the avidity of the company itself, it was stipulated that it should employ no more than six hundred slaves in that business. It hath since been permitted to increase their number at pleasure, paying 100 sols [4s. 2d.] *per* day for every miner.

To ensure the business of the chartered company, the gold mines, which were worked in the neighbourhood, were in general shut up; and those who had founded their expectations of fortune upon this frequently deceitful basis, were compelled to turn their activity into some other channel. The other citizens were suffered to remain upon their estates; but capital punishments were decreed by the law against any person who should encroach upon the exclusive rights granted to the company. Since the sovereign hath succeeded to the company, all the citizens are allowed to search for diamonds, but under the restriction of delivering them to the agents of the crown at the price it hath stipulated, and on paying twenty *per cent.* upon this sum.

The diamonds that are intended to be sent from the New World to the Old, are inclosed in a casket which hath three locks, the keys of which are separately put into the hands of the chief members of administration; and those keys are deposited in another casket, which is to be sealed with the viceroy's seal. While the exclusive privilege subsisted, this precious deposit, on its arrival in Europe, was remitted to government, who retained, according to a settled regulation, the very scarce diamonds which exceeded twenty carats, and delivered every year, for the profit of the company, to one, or to several contractors united, forty thousand carats, at prices which have successively varied. An engagement was made on

one hand to receive that quantity ; and on the other, not to distribute any more ; and whatever might be the produce of the mines, which necessarily varied, the contract was faithfully adhered to.

At present, the court throws sixty thousand carats of diamonds into trade. These are monopolized by one single merchant, who gives 3,120,000 livres [130,000*l.*] at the rate of 25 livres [1*l.* 10*s.*] the carat, for them. If the smuggling amounts to a tenth, as well-informed persons suppose, the sum of 312,000 livres [13,000*l.*] must be added to the sum received by government : it will be found that the produce of those mines, the riches of which there is so great a propensity to exaggerate, doth not amount annually to more than 3,432,000 livres [143,000*l.*] These rough diamonds are purchased by England and Holland, who furnish them to other nations, more or less well cut.

The diamonds of Brazil are not found in quarries ; most of them are scattered in the rivers, the course of which is more or less frequently altered. It is a question not yet decided, whether they be formed there, or whether they have been carried there by the waters which empty themselves into these rivers. The increase of their quantity in the rainy seasons, and after violent storms, would induce one to believe that they have been washed away by the torrents which have detached them from the rocks and mountains.

In the East and West Indies, the mines are situated at a small distance from the equator ; some of them in the first degrees of northern latitude, and others in the correspondent degrees of southern latitude. The crust which the rough diamonds are surrounded with is thicker in the diamonds of Brazil than in those of Indostan ; and it is an easy matter, or at least possible, to distinguish them in that primary state. But the most skilful lapidaries are deceived in them, after they have been once cut ; they are accordingly of equal value in trade ; but this equality is to be understood only of the small diamonds. Most of the American diamonds, beyond four or five carats, have blemishes, which are seldom found in those of Asia : and in that case the difference in the price is prodigious,

Some artists are likewise of opinion, that the latter are harder and more brilliant than the former; but this opinion is not generally received.

Some very imperfect amethysts and topazes are likewise found in the diamond and gold country, as well as some tolerable fine crysolites. These precious stones were never under the yoke of monopoly; and those who discover them are at liberty to dispose of them in whatever manner they think most suitable to their interest. Their annual exportation, however, does not amount to more than 150,000 livres [6250l.] and the duties which government receives from them, at the rate of one *per cent.* do not exceed 1500 livres [62l. 10s.]

Mines of iron, sulphur, antimony, tin, lead, and quicksilver, are likewise found in these rich countries, and in some other provinces of Brazil; but no care hath been taken to open any of them. Copper only seems to have been refused by nature to this vast and fruitful region of the new hemisphere.

A colony so interesting hath been *Present state*
useful to Portugal in several ways. The *of Brazil.*
increase of the public revenue, by the
Brazil, seems to have been the kind of advantage which
hitherto hath mostly engaged the attention of the government. The obligation to pay for the transportation of the metals, which is reserved for ships of war; the exclusive trade of diamonds, the sale of a great number of monopolies, the overloading of the customs; such are the principal sources of wealth, which, even in Europe, an insatiable treasury hath opened to itself.

These vexations have been carried still farther in America. A fifth of the profits upon gold and diamonds is required, which amounts to 6 or 7,000,000 livres [from 250,000l. to 291,666l. 13s. 4d.] A tenth is demanded upon all kinds of productions, which, though collected without severity, amounts to 2,873,000 livres [119,708l. 6s. 8d.] The inhabitants are obliged to purchase crusades, which do not exceed 160,000 livres [6666l. 13s. 4d. A duty is also exacted upon slaves, which amounts to 1,076,650 livres [44,860l. 8s. 4d. Another for the re-

building of Lisbon, and for public schools, which amounts to 385,000 livres [16,041l. 13s. 4d.]; another from all subaltern officers of justice, which amounts to 153,000 livres [6375l.] Ten *per cent.* is likewise required upon every import and export, which may yield 4,882,000 livres [203,416l. 13s. 4d.]; and 1,124,000 [43,833l. 6s. 8d.] are demanded for the liberty of conveying to inland countries the liquors and the commodities that are brought into port. Government hath also reserved to itself the monopoly of salt, soap, mercury, aquafortis, and cards, which it farms out for 710,320 livres [29,596l. 13s. 4d.]

Notwithstanding all these taxes, which bring in annually 18,073,970 livres [753,082l.] 1s. 8d. to the crown, it hath still contracted engagements in the Brazils. It owes 713,000 livres [29,708l. 6s. 8d.] to Para; 517,600 [21,791l. 13s. 4d.] to St. Paul and to Matto Grosso; 10,110,000 livres [421,250l.] to Rio Janeiro; in all 11,344,600 livres [472,525l.] In the former of these governments, the debt hath been occasioned by the recent construction of some forts, more or less necessary; and in the latter, by the wars which were obliged to be carried on against the Guaranis in 1750, and by those which it hath been requisite to sustain against Spain.

On the other hand, in 1774, the Brazils were indebted to the merchants of the mother-country to the amount of 15,165,980 livres [631,915l. 16s. 8d.] This was the opinion of a man who hath attended most to this great settlement, and hath acquired the best information concerning it.

Foreign connections of Brazil.

THE colony hath formed some commercial intercourse with several countries of the globe. Formerly the ships which returned from the East Indies to

Portugal used to put in there, and to dispose of part of their cargo. This intercourse hath been interrupted in latter times, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, but which cannot be good ones.

The western coast of Africa, from the Cape de Verde islands to beyond the country of Angola, is more than ever frequented by the Brazilian navigators; and those of Rio Janeiro have begun, not long ago, to trade on the

northern coast. Vessels are employed in these voyages which are built in the colony itself; and which are not of less than sixty tons burden, nor more than one hundred and forty. The crew is either entirely or mostly composed of negroes and mulattoes. It is for the working of the mines, and for the cultivation of the lands, that this great exertion is made. It is evident from some very authentic memorials which are now before us, that for these eight years past, sixteen thousand three hundred and three slaves have been carried off from these unfortunate shores every year. These slaves, at the rate of 312 livres [13l.], one with another, must have cost 5,161,536 livres [215,064l.]. They have been paid for with the gold, the tobacco, the rums, and the cottons, which come from Brazil; and with the glass manufacture the mirrors, the ribands, and several kinds of toys brought from Europe.

The connections of the colony with the Portuguese islands are maintained for another purpose. It receives annually from Medeira, by means of eight or nine small ships, to the amount of 400,000 livres [16,666l. 13s. 4d.] in wine, vinegar, and brandy; and from the Azores, by means of four or five more vessels, to the amount of 610,000 livres [25,416l. 13s. 4d.] in liquors; to which are added, linens, salt provisions, and flour. The agents of this trade lade themselves, in return, with those productions of Brazil, the exclusive property of which the mother-country hath not reserved to itself. These several branches of trade united do not carry away annually more than to the amount of 2,271,000 livres [94,625l.] of the production of the colony.

Almost all the riches of this vast region of the New World are carried into Portugal. From the year 1770 to 1775, they amounted annually to the sum 56,949,290 livres [2,372,887l. 1s. 8d.]. Gold, diamonds, four hundred and forty-three thousand quintals of sugar, fifty-eight thousand five hundred quintals of tobacco, four thousand five hundred quintals of cotton, twenty thousand quintals of wood for dying, one hundred fourteen thousand and twenty hides, together with some other objects of less importance, made up this great sum.

After the period we have been speaking of, a few variations took place. We are not sufficiently acquainted with them to ascertain them with precision; but we know to a certainty that the mother-country hath received every year from Rio Janeiro a small quantity of coffee and of indigo, together with one thousand quintals of sugar, more than it received formerly. We know to a certainty that it hath received from Para and from Maragnan every year three hundred and twenty-one quintals of rice, and one hundred and ninety-two quintals of cotton, more than were formerly sent; and we also know that there hath been an annual diminution of four thousand hides and of 965,000 livres [40,208l. 6s. 8d.] in the gold, among the several remittances that have been made.

The colony is paid with merchandize, which have not cost originally above fifteen or sixteen millions of livres [from 625,000l. to 666,666l. 13s. 4d.]. The duties received by the sovereign himself, several monopolies, exorbitant taxes, the dearness of freighting, and the profits of the trade, absorb the remainder.

Portugal did not formerly send from its own country to its colonies any thing beside liquors; but, since the industry of the province is in some degree revived, it furnishes one half of the consumptions made in the part of the new hemisphere that is under its dominion.

It is with two thirds of the productions of Brazil, which are sold to foreigners; it is with the gold and the diamonds which come from these regions; it is with the wines, the woollen cloths, the salt, and the fruits of the mother-country itself, that Portugal is enabled to pay sixty millions [2,500,000l.] for the merchandize which they annually receive from the several countries of Europe. The share which the several nations have taken in this trade hath experienced great variations. At this present time, England is in possession of fourteen parts of it, Italy of eight, Holland of seven, Hamburgh of six, France of five, Sweden of four, Denmark of four, Spain of two, and Russia of one only. The spoils of this nation have not always been thus divided.

THE first conquests of the Portuguese in Africa and Asia did not stifle the seeds of their industry. Though Lisbon was become the general warehouse for India goods, her own silk and woollen manufactures were still maintained, and were sufficient for the consumption of the mother-country and of Brazil. The national activity extended to every thing, and made some amends for the deficiency of population, which was becoming daily more considerable. Amidst the various calamities that Spanish tyranny oppressed the kingdom with, the Portuguese could not complain of a cessation of labour at home; nor was the number of manufactures much lessened at the time when they recovered their liberty.

Portugal, and its distant settlements, are fallen into a state of the utmost degradation. Reasons of this.

The happy revolution that placed the duke of Braganza upon the throne was the period of this decay. A spirit of enthusiasm seized upon the people. Some of them crossed the seas, in order to defend distant possessions against an enemy who was imagined to be more formidable than he really was. The rest took up arms to cover the frontiers. The interest of the whole nation prevailed over private views, and every patriot was solicitous only for his country. It might naturally be expected, that, when the first enthusiasm was past, every one would resume his usual employment; but, unfortunately, the cruel war which followed that great event, was attended with such devastations in an open country, that the people chose rather to forego their labours than to expose themselves to see the fruits of them continually destroyed. The ministry encouraged this spirit of indolence by measures which cannot too severely be censured.

Their situation put them under a necessity of forming alliances. Political reasons secured to them all the enemies of Spain. The advantages they must necessarily reap from the diversions made in Portugal, could not fail of attaching them to its interest. If the new court had formed such extensive views, as from the nature of their enterprise it might be presumed they had, they would have known that they had no need to make any sacrifices

in order to acquire friends. By an ill judged precipitation they ruined their affairs. They gave up their trade to other powers, who were almost as much interested in their preservation as they were themselves. This infatuation made those powers imagine they might venture any thing, and their avidity still prompted them to encoach upon the privileges that had been so improperly lavished upon them. The industry of the Portuguese was destroyed by this competition, but was again revived, in some degree, by an error of the French ministry.

This crown had, for a considerable time past, been in possession of some islands in America. The shackles with which they had been restrained had till then impeded their fertility. The cultures would speedily and infallibly have been improved by a well-digested plan of liberty. The crown chose rather to secure to the monopoly, to which they were subjected, the exclusive right of supplying the kingdom; and the sugars and tobaccos of Brazil were strictly prohibited there in 1664. The court of Lisbon, irritated, as they had reason to be, with this inconsiderate prohibition, forbade, on their parts, the importation of French manufactures, the only ones, at that period, which were esteemed in Portugal. Genoa immediately seized upon the silk trade, and hath kept it ever since; and England appropriated to itself the woollen trade, though with less uninterrupted success. The Portuguese, instructed by workmen from all quarters, began, in 1681, to manufacture the fleeces of their own flocks. The progress of this manufacture was sufficiently rapid to enable the government to proscribe several kinds of foreign woollen cloths, and, soon after, to forbid those of all kinds.

Great Britain was much chagrined at these arrangements. For a long time, the English strove, with great assiduity, to open the communication afresh, which had been shut against them. Their endeavours were sometimes likely to be attended with success; but they were soon after obliged to give up those hopes, which they had reason to think so well founded. It was impossible to discover in what manner these attempts would end, when a revolution happened in the political system of Europe; which at once overturned all the former ideas.

A grandson of Lewis XIV was called to the throne of Spain. All nations were alarmed at this accession of power to the house of Bourbon, which they already thought too formidable and too ambitious. Portugal, in particular, which had always considered France as a firm friend, now beheld in her an enemy, who must necessarily desire, and perhaps promote, her ruin. This induced her to apply for the protection of England, which being accustomed to turn every event to her own commercial advantage, could not fail of availing itself with warmth, of a circumstance so favourable to its interest. The English ambassador Methuen, a profound and able negotiator, signed a treaty, on the 27th of December 1703, by which the court of Lisbon engaged to permit the importation of all British woollen goods, on the same footing as before the prohibition; upon condition that the Portugal wines should pay a duty one third less than those of France, to the custom-house in England.

The advantages of this stipulation were very certain for one of the parties, but only probable for the other. England obtained an exclusive privilege for her manufactures, as the prohibition remained in full force with regard to those of other nations; but granted nothing on her part, having already settled, for her own interest, what she now artfully represented to her ally as a great favour. Since France had bought no more cloths of the English, they had observed that the high price of French wines was prejudicial to the balance of trade, and had therefore endeavoured to lessen the consumption, by laying heavier duties upon them. They have again increased them from the same motive, and still made a merit of it to the court of Lisbon, as being a proof of their friendship.

The Portuguese manufactures fell, being unable to support the competition of the English. Great Britain clothed her new ally; and as the wine, oil, salt, and fruit, she bought, was a trifle in comparison to what she sold, it was necessary that the deficiency should be supplied with the gold of Brazil. The balance inclined more and more in favour of the English, and it was scarce possible that it should not.

All persons who are conversant with the theory of

commerce, or have attended to its revolutions, know that an active, rich, and intelligent nation, which hath once appropriated to itself any considerable branch of trade, will soon engross all the less important branches of it. It hath such great advantages over its competitors, that it disgusts them, and makes itself master of the countries where its industry is exerted. Thus it is that Great Britain hath found means to engross all the productions of Portugal and her colonies.

It furnished Portugal with clothing, food, hardware, materials for building, and all articles of luxury, and returned her own materials manufactured. These useful labours employed a million of English artificers or husbandmen.

It furnished her with ships, and with naval and warlike stores for her settlements in America, and carried on all her navigation in other parts of the world.

It had engrossed the whole money trade of Portugal. Money was borrowed in London at three or three and a half *per cent.* and negociated at Lisbon, where it was worth ten. In ten years time, the capital was paid by the interest, and still remained due.

It ingrossed all the inland trade. There were English houses settled at Lisbon, which received all the commodities of their own country, and distributed them to merchants, who disposed of them in the provinces, mostly for the benefit of their employers. A small profit was the only reward of this industry, which is disgraceful to a nation that worked at home for the benefit of another.

It carried off even the agency business. The fleets destined for the Brazils were the sole property of the English. The riches they brought back belonged to them. They would not even suffer them to pass through the hands of the Portuguese, and only borrowed or purchased their name, because they could not do without it. These strangers disappeared as soon as they had acquired the fortune they intended, and left that nation impoverished and exhausted, at whose expence they had enriched themselves. It is demonstrable from the registers of the fleets, that in the space of sixty years, that is, from the discovery of the mines to the year 1756, 2,400,000,000 livres [100,000,000*l.*] worth of gold had been brought

away from Brazil, and yet, in this latter period, all the specie in Portugal amounted to no more than 15 or 20,000,000 [from 625,000*l.* to 833,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*] and at that time the nation owed one hundred million [4,166,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] or more.

But what Lisbon was losing, London gained. England, by her natural advantages, was only intended for a secondary power. Though the changes that had happened in the religion, government, and industry of the English, had improved their condition, increased their strength, and unfolded their genius, they could not possibly act a capital part. They knew by experience that the means which, in ancient governments, could raise a nation to any height, when, without any connection with its neighbours, it emerged, as it were singly out of nothing, were insufficient in modern times, when the intercourse of nations, making the advantages of each common to all, left to numbers and strength their natural superiority. Since soldiers, generals, and nations, had hired themselves to engage in war; since the power of gold had opened every cabinet, and made every treaty; England had learned that the greatness of a state depended upon its riches, and that its political power was estimated in proportion to its millions. This truth, which must have alarmed the ambition of the English, became favourable to them, as soon as they had prevailed upon Portugal to depend upon them for necessaries, and had bound them by treaties to an impossibility of procuring them from any other power. Thus was that kingdom made dependent on a false friend for food and raiment. These were, to borrow the expression of a certain politician, like two anchors which the Britons had fastened upon that empire. They went farther still: they made the Portuguese lose all consideration, all weight, all influence in the general system of affairs, by persuading them to have neither forces nor alliances. Trust to us, said the English, for your safety; we will negotiate and fight for you. Thus, without bloodshed or labour, and without experiencing any of the evils that attend upon conquest, they made themselves more effectually masters of Portugal, than the Portuguese were of the mines of Brazil.

All things are connected, both in nature and politics. It is scarce possible that a nation should lose its agriculture and its industry, without a visible decay of the liberal arts, letters, sciences, and all the sound principles of policy and government. The kingdom of Portugal furnishes a melancholy instance of this truth. As soon as Great Britain had condemned it to a state of inaction, it is fallen into such barbarism as is scarce credible. The light which had shone all over Europe did not extend itself to the frontiers of Portugal. That kingdom was even observed to degenerate, and to attract the contempt of those whose emulation and jealousy it had before excited. The advantage of having tolerable laws, while all other states were involved in horrible confusion; this inestimable advantage has been of no service to the Portuguese. They have lost the turn of their genius, by forgetting the principles of reason, morality, and politics. The efforts they may make to emerge from this state of degeneracy and infatuation might possibly prove ineffectual; because good reformers are not easily to be found in that nation which stands most in need of them. Men who are qualified to cause revolutions in empires are generally prepared to it by previous circumstances, and seldom start up at once. They have generally had their forerunners, who have awakened the minds of the people, disposed them to receive the light, and prepared the necessary means for bringing about great revolutions. As there is no appearance of any such preparatory steps in Portugal, the nation must still continue for a long time in this humiliating condition, unless it will adopt the principles followed, with so much success, by the most enlightened states.

Means which the court of Lisbon ought to employ to extricate the mother-country, and her colonies, from their languid state.

THE first steps towards its recovery, that firm and vigorous one without which all the rest would be unsteady, uncertain, useless, and perhaps dangerous, would be to shake off the yoke of England. Portugal, in her present situation, cannot subsist without foreign commodities; therefore, it is her interest to promote the greatest competition of

sellors she possibly can, in order to reduce the price of what she is obliged to buy. As it is no less the interest of the Portuguese to dispose of the overplus of their own produce and that of the colonies, they ought, for the same reason, to invite as many purchases as possible to their harbours, to enhance the price, and increase the quantity of their exports. These political measures are certainly liable to no objection.

By the treaty of 1703, the Portuguese are only obliged to permit the importation of woollen goods from England, on the terms stipulated before the prohibition. They might grant the same privilege to other nations, without incurring the reproach of having broken their engagement. A liberty granted to one nation was never interpreted as an exclusive and perpetual privilege, that could deprive the prince who granted it of his right of extending it to other nations. He must necessarily be the judge of what suits his own kingdom. It is not easy to conceive what rational objection a British ministry could make to a king of Portugal who should tell them, I will encourage merchants to come to my dominions, who will feed and clothe my subjects as cheap and cheaper than you, merchants who will take the produce of my colonies, from whence you will receive nothing but gold.

We may judge of the effect this wise conduct would have, by the events that have taken place, independent of this spirited resolution. It appears from the registers of the customs, that in the space of five years, from 1762 to 1766 inclusively, England, which, till very lately, engrossed the whole trade of Portugal, hath only sent their goods to the value of 95,613,547 livres 10 sous [3,983,897l. 16s. 3d.] and hath received commodities to the amount of 37,761,075, livres [1,573,378l. 2s. 6d.] so that the balance in money hath been but 57,692,475 livres [2,403,853l. 2s. 6d.]

The circumstance which deceives all Europe, with regard to the extent of the English trade, is, that all the gold of Brazil is conveyed by the road of the Thames. This seems to be a natural and necessary consequence of the affairs carried on by that nation. But the truth is, that metals are not allowed to go out of Portugal, and,

therefore, can only be brought away by men of war, which are not liable to be searched; that Great Britain sends two every week, as regularly as the sea will permit; and that these ships bring the riches of all nations into their island, from whence the merchants, dispersed in the several countries, receive them, either in kind, or in bills of exchange, paying one *per cent*.

The British ministry, who are not the dupes of these dazzling appearances, and are but too sensible of the diminution of this most valuable branch of their trade, have, for some time past, taken incredible pains to restore it to its former state. Their endeavours will never succeed, because this is one of those events which are not within the reach of political wisdom. If the evil arose from favours granted to rival nations, or if England had been debarred from her former privileges, some well-conducted negotiations might occasion a new revolution. But the court of Lisbon hath never varied its conduct neither with Great Britain nor with other states. Her subjects have had no other inducement to give the preference to the merchandize brought them from all parts of Europe, than because those of their former friends were so loaded with taxes, that they bore an exorbitant price. The Portuguese will procure many articles at a still more reasonable rate, whenever their government shall establish a perfect equality in their ports between all nations.

The court of Lisbon, after removing, in some measure, the disadvantages of their trade, which is merely passive, should endeavour to make it active. Their ministers, in conformity with the prevailing taste of the age, have already established some manufactures of silk, of cotton, and of steel. We think that they ought to have begun by resuming the cultures that have been dropped, and by reanimating those that are languid.

The climate of Portugal is favourable to the production of silk, of which there are formerly great plenty. The baptized Jews made it their business to breed worms, and to prepare the silk, till they were persecuted by the inquisition, which was still more severe and more powerful under the house of Braganza, than it had ever been under the Spanish dominion. Most of the manufacturers

sled to the kingdom of Valencia; and those who sold the produce of their labours removed, with their effects, to England and Holland, which improved the activity of both those countries. This dispersion was the ruin of the silk trade in Portugal, so that no trace of it remains at present; but it might be resumed.

The next cultivation that ought to be attended to, is that of the olive tree. It is now carried on, and constantly supplies all the oil that is wanted for home consumption, beside a small quantity every year for exportation; but this is not sufficient. It would be an easy matter for Portugal to share, in a more direct manner, with other nations, the profits they derive from this production, which is wholly confined to the southern provinces of Europe.

Their wool is likewise capable of improvement. Though it be inferior to that of Spain, the French, the Dutch, and even the English, buy up twelve or thirteen thousand quintals of it every year, and would purchase a greater quantity, if it were brought to market. Those who have travelled through Portugal, with that spirit of observation which enables men to form a right judgment of things, are of opinion that double the quantity might be obtained, without injuring the other branches of industry; and that, on the contrary, it might tend to their improvement.

The trade of salt seems to have been more closely attended to. The North annually takes off a hundred and fifty thousand tons, which may cost 1,500,000 livres [62,500*l.*] It is corrosive, and takes off from the weight and flavour of our food; but hath the advantage of preserving fish and meat longer than French salt. This property will occasion a greater demand for it in proportion as the navigation of the country is extended.

The Portuguese found a greater vent for their wines than might have been expected from their flavour and quality. Particular circumstances had rendered them most commonly used in the north of Europe and of America. It was impossible to foresee, that the court of Lisbon itself would put a stop to the sale of them. The order for rooting up the vines in Portugal could only be dictated by private interest. The pretence for so ex-

traordinary a law is so absurd, that no one has given credit to it. It is very well known, that the ground where the vines have stood can never be fit for the culture of corn.

But if this were ever so practicable, it would still be an unwarrantable infringement of the sacred and unalienable right of property. In a monastery, every thing belongs to all: nothing is the property of any individual, but the joint property of the whole community: it is one single animal with twenty, thirty, forty, a thousand, or ten thousand heads. But it is not the same in society. Here every individual hath the disposal of himself and of his property: he possesses a share of the general wealth, which he is absolute master of, and may use, or even abuse, as he thinks proper. A private man must be at liberty to let his ground lie fallow, if he chooses it, without the intervention of administration. If government should assume a right to judge of the abuse of property, it would soon take upon itself to judge of the use of it; and then every true idea of liberty and property will be destroyed. If it can require me to employ my own property according to its fancy; if it should inflict punishments on my disobedience, my negligence, or my folly, and that, under pretence of general and public utility, I am no longer absolute master of my own, I am only an administrator who is to be directed by the will of another. The man who lives in society must, in this respect, be left at liberty to be a bad citizen, because he will soon be severely punished by poverty, and by contempt, which is worse than poverty. He who burns his own corn, or throws his money away, is a fool too rarely to be met with, to make it necessary to bind him by prohibitive laws, which would be injurious in themselves, by their infringement of the universal and sacred idea of property. In every well regulated constitution, the business of the magistrate must be confined to what concerns the public safety, inward tranquillity, the conduct of the army, and the observance of the laws. Wherever authority is extended beyond this, we may affirm that the people are exposed to oppression. If we take a survey of all ages and nations, that great and sublime idea of public utility

will present itself to our imagination under the symbolical figure of a Hercules, crushing one part of the people with his club, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the other part, who are not sensible that they are soon to fall under the same strokes.

To return to Portugal : that country stands in need of other measures than have hitherto been pursued, to restore the culture of corn ; it is in so languid a state, that the Portuguese annually import three fourths of the corn they consume. They never, perhaps, will be able to gather their whole subsistence from a soil which is not sufficiently well watered ; but it behoves them to lessen, as much as they possibly can, their dependence upon foreign succours. The population is sufficient to carry on the labours with spirit, since, by allowing four persons and a half to each fire-side, it amounts to one million nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, exclusive of the monks.

The court of Lisbon would lie under a fatal mistake, if they should imagine that time alone will bring about so great a revolution. It behoves them to pave the way for it, by a complete reformation of the taxes, which have never been well regulated since the foundation of the monarchy, and the confusion of which increases every year. When the impediments are removed, every kind of encouragement must be given. One of the most fatal prejudices, and most destructive of the happiness of men and the prosperity of nations, is that which supposes that men only are wanting for the purposes of agriculture. The experience of all ages hath shewn, that much cannot be required of the earth, till much hath been bestowed upon it. There are, in all Portugal, very few farmers who are able to advance the necessary sums. Government should, therefore assist them. A revenue of 46,884,531 livres [1,953,523l. 2s. 6d.] properly dispensed, would facilitate this liberality, which is frequently more economical than the most sordid avarice.

This first change will be productive of others. The arts necessary to agriculture will infallibly rise and grow up with it. Industry will extend its several branches, and Portugal will no longer exhibit an instance of a sa-

vage people in the midst of civilized nations. The citizen will no longer be forced to devote himself to celibacy, or to leave his country in search of employment. Commodious houses will be erected upon ruins; and manufactures supply the place of convents. The subjects of this almost ruined state, which now resemble those scattered and solitary shrubs that are found upon the soil of the richest mines, will no longer be reduced to those necessities they now experience, notwithstanding their mountains and rivers of gold. The wealth of the state will be kept in constant circulation, and will no longer be buried in the churches. Superstition will be banished, together with ignorance, despair, and indolence. Those who have no other object in view, but to commit excesses, and expiate them, who are fond of miracles and magic arts, will then be inflamed with public spirit. The nation, freed from its fetters, and restored to its natural activity, will exert itself with a spirit worthy of its former exploits.

Portugal will recollect, that she was indebted to her navy for her opulence, her glory, and her strength, and will attend to the means of restoring it. It will no longer be reduced to seventeen men of war, to twenty-five warlike ships of smaller rates, and about a hundred merchantmen, from six to eight hundred tons burden, which are still in a more ruinous state. Her population, reduced to one million nine hundred and sixty thousand souls, will increase and fill her harbours and roads with active fleets. The revival of her navy will be doubtless difficult for a power, whose flag is not known on any of the European seas, and which, for a century past, has given up her navigation to any power that would attend to it; but every obstacle will be surmounted by a wise and prudent government. When once it carries on all the navigation that should belong to it, considerable sums will be retained in the kingdom, which are now constantly expended for freight.

This change will extend its influence to the islands that are dependent on the crown. Madeira, the annual exports of which amount to 4,658,800 livres [194,116l. 13s. 4d.] will extend its labour, its prosperity, and its

riches. The Azores will be still more improved. We know that this archipelago, consisting of nine islands, of which Tercera is the principal, hath no more than one hundred and forty-two thousand inhabitants; and sells at present, to the mother-country, to Brazil, and to North America, its wines, its linens, its corn, and its cattle, to the amount only of 2,440,000 livres [101,666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*] Even the Cape de Verde islands, notwithstanding the frequent droughts they experience, will be able to multiply their mules, and more especially to cultivate the perella, that species of grass of the colour of moss, which the north of Europe employs with so much advantage in dying. The government will not confine themselves to the encouragement in their possessions, of the cultures only that are known there; they will take care to introduce new ones, which the fertility of the soil, and the temperature and variety of the climate, seem incessantly to require.

These new improvements will be principally felt in Brazil, that great colony, which hath never been what it ought.

Before the year 1525, it received only some banished persons, without either morals or fortune.

The grandees, who at this period obtained provinces there, made it a scene of carnage and destruction. For the space of sixty years, there was a continual struggle between the Portuguese, who wished to enslave all; and the Indians, who refused to bear the chains that were intended for them, or who broke them after they had been obliged to submit to them.

Even the labours of a few Brazilians, who were kept under the yoke by a watchful exertion of tyranny, were inconsiderable. Those of the Europeans were nothing, because they would have thought themselves degraded by slavish occupations. The only success that could be expected was from the negroes; but they did not begin to multiply there till towards the year 1570.

Ten years after this, Portugal was enslaved; and we may readily suppose that the Spanish government, which suffered its own ancient possessions in the other hemisphere to fall into confusion, did not exert itself in improving

the colonies of a nation, which, though subdued, still excited its suspicions.

The long and bloody wars which Brazil had to sustain against the Dutch retarded its progress in every particular.

This was also again impeded, by the revolution which freed Portugal from the yoke of Spain, while it kept the two nations in arms during eighteen years.

While these contests were subsisting, the European nations that had formed settlements in America began to cultivate these productions, which till that time had been peculiar to Brazil. This competition lowered the price of them; and the colony, discouraged, did not export more than half of what they previously sold. So great a misfortune warned the ministry of the necessity of freeing these commodities from the taxes with which they were laden at their entrance into the mother-country. The discovery of the mines occasioned these objects to be neglected, which, from that time, appeared to be less important than they really were.

Gold and diamonds, which are articles of value merely by convention, were themselves prejudicial to cultures, which they might have encouraged. The hopes of making a brilliant fortune, by collecting these fugitive and precarious riches, determined a great number of proprietors to abandon their plantations.

This fatal illusion began to be dissipated, when the system of monopolies put a stop to the inclination generally shewn, of resuming a plan which was more safe, and even more lucrative, than that which had at first so much inflamed the imaginations of men.

The last disputes with Spain were, in a word, a new source of desolation to the colony. The inhabitants were compelled by violence to quit their labours; loans were extorted from them without interest, for which they have not yet been reimbursed; they were exposed to the utmost outrages of the most barbarous despotism.

At present, that these obstacles to every kind of good are most of them removed, the riches which Brazil offers in vain, for three centuries past, are no longer to be rejected. The climate is wholesome in that part of the

New World ; the harbours are numerous ; and the coasts, which are easy of access, are generally fertile. The inland part of the country, which is still more fruitful, and intersected by a great number of navigable rivers, may be cultivated for the wants or for the luxuries of Europe.

All the productions peculiar to America thrive there, notwithstanding the havoc made by the ants, and without apprehension of seeing them destroyed by those terrible hurricanes and by those devouring droughts which so frequently lay waste the best islands of this hemisphere. It gives encouragement to labour, from the plenty of provisions, of cattle, and of slaves : nothing is wanting to make it one of the finest establishments upon the face of the globe.

It will become so, when it shall be freed from that number of imposts, and from that multitude of contractors which keep it in a state of humiliation and oppression, when its activity shall no longer be restrained by numberless monopolies ; when the price of the merchandize conveyed to it shall not be doubled by the taxes imposed upon them ; when its productions shall pay no more duties, or shall only pay such as are not more considerable than those of its competitors ; when its intercourse with the other national possessions shall have been disencumbered from the shackles which confine it ; when the East Indies shall be laid open to it, and when it shall be permitted to draw from its own produce the money required to carry on this new connection.

The colony hath hands sufficient to multiply and extend these labours. At the time of our writing, it reckons one hundred seventy-six thousand and twenty-eight white men ; three hundred forty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight slaves ; two hundred seventy-eight thousand three hundred and forty-nine Indians ; which together forms a population of eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and thirty-five persons. The number of savages, still wandering about in the Brazils, is computed at two hundred thousand. Perhaps it might not be impossible to induce them to acknowledge the authority of the court of Lisbon ; but this would not be attended with much advantage, unless directors, more

enlightened than their predecessors, should contrive methods that have escaped the reflection of men for three centuries past.

A more certain method of increasing the mass of productions, would be to admit into the Brazils all foreigners who would undertake the cultivation of them; an infinite number of Americans, English, French, or Dutch, whose plantations are exhausted; and many Europeans prompted by the ardent desire, at present grown so common, of making a rapid fortune, would convey their activity, their industry, and their capitals into the country. These enterprising men would introduce a better spirit into the colony, and would infuse into the degenerate race of the Portuguese creoles, that kind of animation which they have lost for so long a time.

This order of things might be established without prejudice to any other interest. Two thirds of the borders of the great rivers are cultivated. These virgin lands belong to the crown, whose system it hath always been to grant gratuitously one league of territory, under the express condition of cultivating it in a given time. By distributing these domains to their new subjects, they would not spoil their old ones, and they would increase their cultures, as well as the number of their defenders.

But in order to accelerate the advantages of this new plan, it would be necessary to efface even the slightest vestige of the inquisition, that horrible tribunal, the very name of which makes all people shudder who have not entirely given up their reason. This would even be a matter of little importance, if at the same time the influence of the clergy were not also diminished in the public deliberations and in the affairs of individuals.

Some states have been known to favour the corruption of priests, in order to awaken the ascendent that superstition gives them over the minds of the people. That this method is not always infallible, appears from what has happened in the Brazils, nor is this execrable policy reconcilable with the principles of morality. It would be more secure and more eligible to open the doors of the sanctuary to all the citizens without distinction. Phi-

lip II, when he became master of Portugal, enacted, that they should be shut against all such whose blood was tainted with any mixture with Jews, heretics, or negroes. This distinction hath given a dangerous superiority to a set of men who were already too powerful. It hath been abolished in the African settlements; and why should it be continued in America? Why, after taking from the clergy the authority they derived from their birth, should they not be abridged of the power they assume on account of their riches?

Some politicians have asserted, that no government ought ever to appoint a fixed income for the clergy, but that their spiritual services should be paid by those who have recourse to them: that this method would excite their zeal and vigilance: that they would grow daily more expert in the care of souls by experience, study, and application. These statesmen have been opposed by philosophers, who maintained that an economy which would tend to increase the activity of the clergy, would be fatal to public tranquillity; and that it was better to lull that ambitious body into idleness, than to give it new strength. It is observed, say they, that churches and religious houses, which have no settled income, are so many repositories of superstition, maintained at the expence of the lower class of people, where saints, miracles, relics, and all the inventions with which imposture hath loaded religion, are made. So that it would be a benefit to society, if the clergy had a stated provision; but so moderate, as to restrain the ambition of the body, and the number of its members. Poverty makes them fanatical; opulence independent; and both concur to render them seditious.

Such at least was the opinion of a philosopher, who said to a great monarch: there is a powerful body in your dominions, which hath assumed a power of suspending the labour of your subjects, whenever it thinks proper to call them into its temples. This body is authorised to speak to them a hundred times a-year, and to speak in the name of God. It tells them that the most powerful sovereign is no more in the sight of the Supreme Being than the meanest slave; and that, as it is inspired by the

Creator of all things, it is to be believed in preference to the masters of the world. The effects of such a system threaten the total subversion of society, unless the ministers of religion are made dependent on the magistrate; and they will never be effectually so, unless they derive their subsistence from him. This is the only way to establish a harmony between the oracles of heaven and the maxims of government. It is the business of a prudent administration to bring, without disturbances or commotions, the clergy to that state in which they will be able to do good, without having it in their power to do mischief.

Till the court of Lisbon hath attained this salutary end, all projects of reformation will be ineffectual. The defects of ecclesiastical government will still subsist, notwithstanding all endeavours to reform them. The clergy must be brought to depend upon the magistrate, before the Portuguese who live in Brazil can venture to oppose their tyranny. Perhaps even the prejudices these inhabitants have imbibed from a faulty and monastic education, may be too deeply rooted in their minds, to be ever eradicated. These enlightened views seem to be reserved for the next generation. This revolution might be hastened, by obliging the chief proprietors to send their children to Europe for education, and by reforming the plan of public education in Portugal.

All ideas, are easily impressed upon tender organs. The soul, without experience as without reflection, readily admits truth and falsehood in matters of opinion, and equally adopts what is either conducive or prejudicial to the public welfare. Young people may be taught to value or depreciate their own reason; to make use of it, or to neglect it; to consider it as their best guide, or to mistrust its powers. Fathers obstinately defend the absurdities they were taught in their infancy; their children will be as fond of the leading principles in which they have been trained. They will bring back into Brazil notions of religion, morality, administration, commerce, and agriculture. The mother-country will confer places of trust on them alone. They will then exert the talents they have acquired, and the face of the colony will be totally changed. Writers who speak of it, will no

longer lament the idleness, the ignorance, the blunders, the superstitions which have been the ground-work of its administration. The history of this colony will no longer be a satire upon it.

THE fear of incensing Great Britain must not protract these happy alterations one single moment. The motives which, perhaps, have prevented them hitherto, are but prejudices, which will be removed upon the slightest examination. There are numberless political errors, which, once adopted, become principles. Such is the prevailing notion at the court of Lisbon, that the state cannot exist or prosper but by means of the English. It is forgotten that the Portuguese monarchy was formed without the help of other nations; that during the whole time of their contests with the Moors, they were supported by no foreign power; that their greatness had been increasing for three centuries successively, when they extended their dominion over Africa and the East and West Indies by their own strength. All these great revolutions were performed by the Portuguese alone. Was it necessary then that this nation should discover a great treasure, and be a proprietor of rich mines, merely to suggest the idea of its being unable to support itself? Are the Portuguese to be compared to those foolish individuals, whose heads are turned by the embarrassment which their newly-acquired riches occasion?

No nation ought to submit to be protected. If the people are wise, they will have forces relative to their situation, and will never have more enemies than they are able to withstand. Unless their ambition be unbounded, they have allies, who, for their own sakes, will warmly and faithfully support their interest. This general truth is peculiarly applicable to those states that are possessed of mines. It is the interest of all other nations to be in amity with them; and, if there be occasion for it, they will all unite for their preservation. Let Portu-

Whether the court of Lisbon ought to put a stop to their projects of reformation from the apprehension of a rupture with England.

gal but hold the balance even between all the powers of Europe, and they well form an impenetrable barrier around her. England herself, though deprived of the preference she hath too long enjoyed, will still support a nation whose independence is essential to the balance of power in Europe. All nations would quickly join in one common cause, if Spain should ever be so mad for conquest, as to attempt any thing against Portugal. Never would the jealous, restless, and quick-sighted policy of our age, suffer all the treasures of the New World to be in the same hands, or that one house should be so powerful in America, as to threaten the liberties of Europe.

This security, however, should not induce the court of Lisbon to neglect the means of their own preservation, as they did when they trusted to the British arms for their defence, or indolently rested on the supineness of their neighbours; when destitute of land or sea forces, they were accounted as nothing in the political system, which is the greatest disgrace that can befall a nation. If the Portuguese will regain the consequence they have lost, they must put themselves in such a state, as not to be afraid of war, and even to declare it themselves, if their rights or their safety should require it. It is not always an advantage to a nation to continue in peace, when all the rest are in arms. In the political as in the natural world, a great event will have very extensive effects. The rise or fall of one empire will effect all the rest. Even those which are farthest removed from the seat of war, are sometimes the victims of their moderation or of their weakness. These maxims are directly applicable to Portugal, particularly at this juncture, when the example of her neighbours, the critical situation of her haughty allies, the solicitations of the powers who are jealous of her friendship; in short, every thing calls upon her to rouse, and to exert herself.

If the Portuguese will not at length frequent the seas, where alone they can distinguish themselves, and from whence they must derive their prosperity; if they do not appear with a powerful force at the extremity of Europe, where nature hath so happily placed them; their fate is decided, the monarchy is at an end. They will fall again into the chains they had shaken off for a mo-

ment, as a lion that should drop asleep at the door of his den, after he had broken it open. The little circulation there is still within, would but indicate those feeble signs of life, which are the symptoms of approaching death. The few trifling regulations they might make from time to time, respecting the finances, the police, commerce, and the navy, whether at home or for the colonies, would be but weak palliatives, which, by concealing their situation, would make it only the more dangerous.

It cannot be denied that Portugal hath suffered the most favourable opportunity that could have offered of resum-
ing her former splendour to escape. They are not politics alone that prepare revolutions. Some destructive phenomenon may change the face of an empire. The earthquake of the first of November 1755, which overthrew the capital of Portugal, ought to have restored the kingdom. The destruction of a proud city is often the preservation of a whole state, as the opulence of one man may be the ruin of thousands. Stately edifices might be subverted; effects, mostly belonging to foreigners, might be destroyed; idle, debauched, and corrupt men, might be buried under heaps of ruins, without affecting the public welfare. The earth, in a transient fit of rage, had only taken what she was able to restore; and the gulfs she opened under one city, were already dugged for the foundations of another.

Is it reasonably to be expected that Portugal will improve its state and that of its colonies?

But we cannot flatter ourselves with the hopes of future improvements, while we do not see a better order of things, a new state, and a new people, a better management rising out of the ruins of Lisbon. The nation that is not improved by a great catastrophe is ruined without resource, or the period of its restoration is reserved for such distant ages, that it is probable it will sooner be annihilated than it can be regenerated. May Heaven preserve Portugal from this fatal event! May it remove from my mind the presage which cannot be

impressed upon it without plunging me into the deepest affliction! But at this instant I cannot conceal from myself, that as much as the great shocks of nature give energy to enlightened minds, so much do they depress those that are vitiated by the habit of ignorance and superstition. Government, which everywhere takes advantage of the credulity of the people, and which nothing can divert from the settled purpose of extending the boundaries of authority, became more encroaching at the very instant that the nation grew more timorous. Men of bold spirits oppressed those that were weak; and the epocha of that great phenomenon turned out to be the epocha of accumulated slavery; a melancholy but common effect of the catastrophes of nature. They usually make men a prey to the artifices of those who are ambitious of ruling over them. Then it is that they take large strides, by repeated acts of arbitrary power; whether it be that those who govern do really believe that the people were born to obey, or whether they think, that, by extending their own power, they increase the strength of the public. Those false politicians are not aware, that, with such principles, a state is like an over-strained spring, which will break at last, and recoil against the hand that bends it. The present situation of the continent of South America but too plainly evinces the justness of this comparison. Let us now proceed to shew the effects of a different conduct in the American islands.

BOOK X.

Settlement of the European Nations in the great Archipelago of America.

Considerations upon the conduct of all the European nations in the New World.

HITHERTO we have been only proceeding from one scene of horror to another, in following the steps of the Spaniards and of the Portuguese. Let us now see whether the English, French, Hollanders, and Danes, whom we are going to accompany into the islands, have shewn themselves less savage than those who took possession of the continent. Will the inhabitants of

these limited spaces be exposed to the deplorable destiny of the Peruvians, of the Mexicans, and of the Brazilians? Is it possible that civilized men, who have all lived in their country under forms of government, if not wise, at least ancient; who have all been bred up in places where they were instructed with the lessons, and sometimes with the example, of virtue; who were all brought up in the midst of polished cities, in which a rigid exercise of justice must have accustomed them to respect their fellow-creatures; is it possible that all such men, without exception, should pursue a line of conduct equally contrary to the principles of humanity, to their interest, to their safety, and to the first dawnings of reason; and that they should continue to become more barbarous than the savage? Shall I for ever be reduced to the necessity of presenting none but horrid images? Good God! For what an office was I destined? This change of character, in the European who quits his country, is a phenomenon of so extraordinary a nature, the imagination is so deeply affected with it, that, while it attends to it with astonishment, reflection tortures itself in endeavouring to find out the principle of it, whether it exist in human nature in general, or in the peculiar character of the navigators, or in the circumstances preceding or posterior to the event.

It is a question which naturally occurs, whether a man who is freed, by whatsoever cause, from the restraint of the laws, be not more wicked than the man who hath never felt this restraint? Persons who are sufficiently dissatisfied with their lot, sufficiently deprived of resources in their own country, sufficiently poor, or sufficiently ambitious to entertain a contempt for life, and to expose themselves to infinite dangers and labours, upon the precarious hope of making a rapid fortune, do they not carry about with them the fatal seeds of a spirit of depredation, which must unavoidably have manifested itself with inconceivable rapidity and violence when they came into another climate, far from the effects of public resentment, and when they were no longer awed by the presence of their fellow-citizens, or restrained by shame or fear? Doth not the history of all societies prove to us, that those men on whom nature hath bestowed an extraordinary degree

of energy, are most commonly villains ? The danger of a long stay, and the necessity of a speedy return, added to the desire of justifying the expences incurred in the enterprise, by a display of the riches of the lately discovered countries, must necessarily have occasioned and accelerated the violent steps taken to acquire the possession of them. Did not the chiefs of the enterprise, and their companions, terrified by the dangers they had undergone, by those which they were still to undergo, and by the miseries they had suffered, did they not determine to make themselves amends for their sufferings, like men who were resolved not to expose themselves to them a second time ? Did the idea of forming a colony in those distant regions, and of increasing the dominions of their sovereign with them, ever present itself distinctly to the minds of these first adventurers ; and did not the New World rather appear to them as a rich prey that was to be devoured, than as a conquest which they ought to protect ? Was not the mischief begun by these atrocious motives, perpetuated, sometimes by the indifference of ministers, and sometimes by the divisions between the European nations ; and was it not arrived to the utmost pitch, when times of tranquillity inspired our governments with more rational principles ? Had the first deputies, to whom the authority and inspection of those countries had been intrusted, or could they have the knowledge and the virtue requisite to make themselves beloved by the natives, to conciliate their respect and confidence, and to establish a system of police and laws among them ? Did they not, on the contrary, carry along with them, to those distant regions, the same thirst of gold which had laid them waste ? Could it be expected, that, at the origin of these settlements, a plan of administration could be formed, which the experience of several centuries hath not been capable of establishing ? Is it possible, even in our days, to rule nations which are separated by immense seas from the mother-country, in the same manner as subjects who are situated immediately under the eye of the sovereign ? Since distant posts are never solicited and filled, unless by indigent, rapacious men, without talents or morals, strangers to all sentiment of honour, and to every idea of equity, the refuse of the higher ranks of the state, must

we not consider the splendour of the colonies, in after-times, as a chimerical notion; and will not the future happiness of these regions be a phenomenon still more surprising than their first devastation was?

Accursed, therefore, be the moment of their discovery! And you, European sovereigns, what motive can excite your jealous ambition for possessions, the misery of which you can only perpetuate? And why do ye not restore them to themselves, if ye despair of making them making happy? I have, more than once, ventured, in the course of this work, to point out to you the means of accomplishing this; but I am much afraid that my voice hath only exclaimed, and will only exclaim in the desert.

America contains, between the eighth and the thirty-second degree of northern latitude, the most numerous, extensive, and rich archipelago, the ocean hath yet displayed to the curiosity, the industry, and avidity of the Europeans. The islands that compose it are known, since the discovery of the New World, by the name of Caribbees. Those that lie nearest the east have been called the Windward islands, the others the Leeward, on account of the wind's blowing generally from the eastern point in those quarters. They form a continued chain, one end of which seems to be attached to the continent near the gulf of Maracaybo, the other to close the entrance of the gulf of Mexico. They may, perhaps, with some degree of reason, be considered as the tops of very high mountains formerly belonging to the continent, and which have been changed into islands, by some revolution that hath laid all the flat country under water.

All the islands of the world seem to have been detached from the continent by subterraneous fires or earthquakes.

THE celebrated Atlantica, the very name of which hath been buried in oblivion some thousand years ago, was a large tract of land situated between Africa and America. Several circumstances render it probable that England was formerly a part of France; and Sicily hath evidently been detached from

Is it probable that the American islands have been detached from the neighbouring continent?

Italy. The Cape de Verde islands, the Azores, Madeira, and the Canaries, must have been part of the neighbouring continents, or of others that have been destroyed. The late observations of English navigators leave us scarce any room to doubt that all the islands of the South sea formerly composed one entire continent. New Zealand, the largest of them, is full of mountains, on which may be perceived the marks of extinguished volcanoes. Its inhabitants are neither beardless nor copper-coloured, as those of America; and, though they be separated six hundred and eighty leagues from each other, they speak the same language as the natives of the island of Otaheite, discovered a few years ago.

Indisputable monuments evince that such changes have happened, of which the attentive naturalist everywhere perceives some traces still remaining. Shells of every kind, corals, beds of oysters, sea-fish, entire or broken, regularly heaped up in every quarter of the globe, in places the most distant from the sea, in the bowels and on the surfaces of mountains; the variableness of the continent, subject to all the changes of the ocean, by which it is constantly beaten, worn away, or subverted: while at a distance, perhaps, on one side it loses immense tracts of land: on the other discovers to us new countries, and long banks of sand heaped up before those cities that formerly were celebrated sea-ports: the horizontal and parallel position of the strata of the earth, and of marine productions collected and heaped up alternately in the same order, composed of the same materials, that are regularly cemented by the constant and successive exertion of the same cause: the correspondent similarity observable between such coasts as are separated by an arm of the sea; on one side of which may be perceived salient angles opposite to re-entering angles on the other; on the right hand, beds of the same kind of sand, or similar petrifications, disposed on a level with similar strata extending to the left: the direction of mountains and rivers towards the sea as to their common origin: the formation of hills and valleys, on which this immense body of fluid hath, as it were, stamped indelible marks of its undulations: all these several circumstances attest, that the

ocean hath broken its natural limits, or, perhaps, that its limits have never been insurmountable; and that varying, the surface of the globe, according to the irregularity of its own motions, it hath alternately taken the earth from its inhabitants, and restored it to them again. Hence those successive, though never universal, deluges that have covered the face of the earth, but not rendered it totally invisible to us at once; for the waters, acting at the same time in the cavities and on the surface of the globe, cannot possibly increase the depth of their beds, without diminishing their breadth; or overflow on one side, without leaving dry land on the other; nor can we conceive any alteration in the whole system that can possibly have made all the mountains disappear at once, and occasioned the sea to rise above their summits. What a sudden transformation must have forced all the rocks and every solid particle of matter to the centre of the earth, to draw out of its inmost recesses and channels all those fluids which animate it: and thus blending its several elements together, produce a mass of waters and useless germina floating in the air! Is it not enough that each hemisphere alternately becomes a prey to the devastations of the ocean? Such constant shocks as these have doubtless so long concealed from us the New World, and, perhaps, swallowed up that continent, which, as it is imagined, had been only separated from our own.

Whatever may be the secret causes of these particular revolutions, the general cause of which results from the known and universal laws of motion, their effects, however, will be always sensible to every man who hath the resolution and sagacity to perceive them. They will be more particularly evident in regard to the Caribbee islands, if it can ever be proved that they undergo violent shocks whenever the volcanoes of the Cordelciras throw out their contents, or when all Peru is shaken. This archipelago, as well as that of the East Indies, situated nearly in the same degree of latitude, seems to be produced by the same cause; namely, the motion of the sea from east to west: a motion impressed by that which causes the earth's revolution from west to east; more rapid at the equator, where the globe of the earth, being more elevated, re-

velves in a larger circle, and in a more agitated zone; where the ocean seems, as it were, willing to break through all the boundaries nature opposes to it, and, opening to itself a free and uninterrupted course, forms the equinoctial line.

The direction of the Caribbee islands, beginning from Tobago, is nearly north and N. N. W. This direction is continued from one island to another, forming a line somewhat curved towards the north-west, and ending at Antigua. In this place the line becomes at once curved, and, extending in a straight direction to the W. and N. W. meets, in its course, with Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, known by the name of the Leeward islands, which are separated from each other by channels of various breadths. Some of these are six, others fifteen or twenty leagues, broad; but the soundings, in all of them, are from a hundred to a hundred and twenty or a hundred and fifty fathom. Between Grenada and St. Vincents there is also a small archipelago of thirty leagues, in which sometimes the soundings are not ten fathom.

The mountains in the Caribbee islands run in the same direction as the islands themselves. This direction is so regular, that if we were to consider the tops of these mountains only, independent of their basis, they might be looked upon as a chain of hills belonging to the continent, of which Martinico would be the most north-westerly promontory.

The springs of water which flow from the mountains in the windward islands run all in the western part of these islands. The whole eastern coast, that which, according to our conjectures, hath always been covered by the sea, is without any running water. No springs come down there from the mountains; they would, indeed, have been useless, for, after having run over a very short tract of land, and with great rapidity, they would have fallen into the sea.

In Porto-Rico, St. Domingo, and Cuba, there are a few rivers which discharge themselves into the sea on the northern side, and the sources of which rise in the mountains, running from east to west, that is, through the whole length of these islands. These rivers water a con-

siderable extent of low country, which hath certainly never been covered by the sea. From the other side of the mountains facing the south, where the sea, flowing with great impetuosity, leaves behind it marks of its inundations, several rivers flow into these three islands, some of which are considerable enough to receive the largest ships.

These observations, which seem to prove that the sea hath separated the Caribbee islands from the continent, are further confirmed by others of a different kind, though equally conclusive in support of this conjecture. Tobacco, Margaretta, and Trinidad, islands that are the nearest to the continent, produce; as well as the Caribbees, trees, the wood of which is soft, and wild cocoa. This particular species is not to be found, at least in any quantity, in the northern islands. In these the only wood we meet with is hard. Cuba, situated at the other extremity of the Caribbees, abounds, like Florida, from which, perhaps, it hath been separated, with cedars and cypresses, both equally useful for the building of ships.

THE soil of the Caribbees consists mostly of a layer of clay or gravel, of different thickness; under which is a bed of stone or rock. The nature of some of these soils is better adapted to vegetation than others. In those places where the clay is drier and more friable, and mixes with the leaves and remains of plants, a layer of earth is formed, of greater depth than where the clay is moister. The sand or gravel has different properties, according to its peculiar nature; wherever it is less hard, less compact, and less porous, small pieces separate themselves from it, which, though dry, preserve a certain degree of coolness useful to vegetation. This soil is called, in America, a pumicestone soil. Wherever the clay and gravel do not go through such modifications, the soil becomes barren, as soon as the layer, formed by the decomposition of the original plants, is destroyed, from the necessity there is of weeding it, which too frequently exposes its salts to the heat of the

Nature of the soil of the Caribbee islands. Vegetables found there before the invasion.

sun. Hence, in those cultures which require less weeding, and where the plant covers with its leaves the vegetable salts, there the fertility of the ground has been preserved.

When the Europeans landed at the Caribbee islands, they found them covered with large trees, connected, as it were, to one another by a species of creeping plant; which, rising up in the same manner as the ivy, wove itself around all the branches, and concealed them from the sight. There was so great a plenty of this plant, and it grew so thick, that it was impossible to penetrate into the woods before it was cut down. From its great degree of inflexibility it was called *liane*. In these forests, as old as the world itself, there were varieties of trees, which, from a singular partiality of nature, were very lofty, exceeding straight, and without any excrescences or defects. The annual fall and breaking down of the leaves, and the decay of the trunks rotted away by time, formed a moist sediment upon the ground; which being cleared, occasioned a surprising degree of vegetation in those plants that were substituted to the trees that were rooted up.

In whatever soil these trees grew, their roots were scarcely two feet deep, and generally much less: though they extend themselves on the surface, in proportion to the weight they had to support. The excessive dryness of the ground, where the most plentiful rains never penetrate very deep, as they are soon attracted by the sunbeams, and the constant dews that moisten the surface, made the roots of these plants extend themselves horizontally, instead of descending perpendicularly, as they generally do in other climates.

The trees that grew on the tops of mountains and in steep places were very hard. The sharpest cutting instrument could scarcely make any impression upon them. Such were the agouti, the palm-tree, the barata wood, which have since been usefully employed in building. Such were the courbari, the acajou, the manchineel, and the iron-wood, which have been found fit for joiner's work. Such is the acoma, which being either put into the ground, or exposed to the air, is preserved for a long time without being attacked by the worms, or rotted by the damp.

Such the maple, the trunk of which, bring four or five feet in diameter, and the stem from forty to fifty feet high, served to make a canoe of one single piece.

The vallies, which are rendered fertile by the mountains, are covered with soft wood. At the foot of these trees grow promiscuously those plants that the liberality of the soil produced for the subsistence of the natives of the country. Those in most general use were the yam, the Caribbee cabbage, and the battata, the roots of which being tuberosc, like those of the potatoe, might equally afford a wholesome nourishment. Nature, which appears to have established a certain analogy between the characters of people and the provisions intended for their support, had provided the Caribbee islands with such vegetables as could not bear the heat of the sun, flourished best in moist places, required no cultivation, and were renewed two or three times in the year. The islanders did not thwart the free and spontaneous operations of nature, by destroying one of her productions, to give the greater vigour to another. The preparation of the vegetating salts was entirely left to the mere effect of the soil; nor did the natives pretend to fix the place and time of her fertility. They gathered, as chance threw in their way, or the season pointed out, such fruits as spontaneously offered themselves for their support. They had observed, that the putrefaction of the weeds was necessary to the reproduction of those plants that were most useful to them.

The roots of these plants were never unwholesome; but they were insipid when raw, and had very little flavour even when boiled, unless they were seasoned with pimento. When mixed with ginger, and the acid juice of a plant somewhat resembling our sorrel, they produced a strong liquor, which was the only compound drink of the savages. The only art they made use of in preparing it, was suffering it to ferment some days in common water, exposed to the heat of the sun.

Exclusive of this nourishment, the islands also supplied the inhabitants with a great variety of fruits, but very different from ours. The most useful among these was the banana. The root of the banana tree is tuberosc and

hairy. Its stem, which is slender and soft, grows to seven feet at its utmost height, and is eight inches in diameter : it is composed of several coats, or concentric sheaths, tolerably thick, and each of them terminated by a firm petiole, hollowed in form of a gutter, and which supports a leaf of six feet long, and two feet wide. These leaves, collected in a small number at the bottom of the stem, bend by their own weight, and dry up one after the other. They are thin, very smooth, green on the upper surface, of a paler colour on the under, and furnished with parallel fibres, which are very close to each other, are joined at the costa, and give the leaf a satiny appearance. At the end of nine months, the banana tree pushes out from the midst of its leaves, when they are all unfolded, a sprig of three or four feet long, and two feet in diameter, furnished at intervals with semi-circular bands, which each of them supports, a cluster of a dozen or more flowers, covered with a spatha, or membranous inclosure. Each pistil is charged with a stile of six stamina and one calix, with two leaves, one external, lengthened out, and terminated by five indentations ; the other internal, shorter, and concave. This pistil, and one of the stamina, are abortive in the flowers at the extremity, the clusters of which are small, close, and concealed under coloured and permanent inclosures. In the other flowers, five of the stamina are found abortive ; but the pistil becomes a fleshy fruit, elongated, slightly arched, covered with a yellow and thick pellicle, and filled with a pulpy, yellowish substance, of a sweetish taste and very nourishing. The assemblage of these fruits, to the number of fifty and upwards, upon the same stem, is called a *regime* of bananas ; which is as much as a man can carry. While it is upon the stem, its weight makes it bend towards the ground. As soon as it is gathered, this stem dries up, and is succeeded by fresh sprigs, which come out of the root, and flower nine months after, or later, when they are transplanted. There is no other way of multiplying the banana tree, which never yields any seed.

This plant exhibits a number of varieties, which consist only in the form, the size, and the goodness of the fruit. It is agreeable to the taste, and is eaten raw, or prepared in several ways.

One singular circumstance worthy of remark is, that while the voracious plant, which we have termed liane, climbed round all the barren trees, it avoided the fertile ones, though promiscuously blended with the former. Nature seemed, as it were, to have prescribed to it, to respect what she had destined for the sustenance of man.

The islanders were not so plentifully supplied with pot-herbs, as with roots and fruits. Purcelain and cresses were the only herbs of this kind they had.

Their other food was confined within a very narrow compass: they had no tame fowl; and the only quadrupeds that were fit for food did not amount to more than five sorts, the largest of which did not exceed in size our common rabbits. The birds, more pleasing to the eye, though less varied than in our climates, were valuable almost only on account of their feathers: few of them warbled forth those melting notes that are so captivating to the ear; most of them were extremely thin, and very insipid to the taste. Fish was nearly as plentiful as in other seas, but generally less wholesome and less delicate.

The virtues of the plants that nature had placed in these islands, to cure the very few disorders the inhabitants were subject to, can scarce be exaggerated. Whether they were applied externally, or taken internally, or the juice of them given in infusion, their effects were as speedy as salutary. The invaders of those formerly peaceable regions have employed these simples, which are always green and in full vigour, and preferred them to all the medicines that Asia can furnish to the rest of the world.

THE generality of the inhabitants of these islands consider but two seasons among them, that of drought and that of rain. Nature, whose operations are constant, and concealed under a perpetual verdure, appears to them to act always uniformly. But those who attentively observe her progress, discern, that in the temperature of the climate, in all the revolutions and the changes of vegetation, she observes the same laws as in Europe, though in a less sensible manner.

Is the climate of these islands agreeable and wholesome?

These almost imperceptible changes are no preservative against the dangers and inconveniences of such a scorching climate as must be naturally expected under the torrid zone. As these islands are all under the tropics, their inhabitants are exposed, allowing for the varieties resulting from difference of situation and of soil, to a perpetual heat, which generally increases from the rising of the sun till an hour after noon, and then decreases in proportion as the sun declines. A covered sky, that might serve to alleviate this heat, is seldom seen. Sometimes, indeed, clouds appear for an hour or two; but the sun is never hid for four days during the whole year.

The variations in the temperature of the air depend rather upon the wind, than the changes of the seasons. In those places where the wind doth not blow, the air is excessively hot, and none but the easterly winds contribute to temperate and refresh it; those that blow from the south and west afford little relief, but they are much less frequent and less regular than that which comes from the east. The branches of the trees exposed to its influence are forced round towards the west, in that direction which they seemed to be thrown into by the constant and uniform course of the wind. But their roots are stronger, and more extended under ground towards the east, in order to afford them, as it were, a fixed point, the resistance of which may counteract the power of the ruling wind. Accordingly, it hath been observed, that, whenever the westerly wind blows with any violence, the trees are easily thrown down: in order therefore, to judge of the violence of a hurricane, the number of trees, as well as the direction in which they fall, is equally to be considered.

The easterly wind depends upon two invariable causes, the probability of which is very striking. The first arises from the diurnal motion of the earth from west to east, and which must necessarily be more rapid under the equinoctical than under the parallels of latitude, because a greater space must be passed over in the same time. The second is owing to the heat of the sun, which, as soon as it rises above the horizon, rarefies the air, and

causes it to blow towards the west, in proportion as the the earth revolves towards the east.

The easterly wind, therefore, which at the Caribbee islands is scarcely felt before nine or ten o'clock in the morning, increases in proportion as the sun rises above the horizon, and decreases as it declines. Towards the evening it ceases entirely to blow on the coasts, but not on the open sea. The reasons of this difference are very evident. After the setting of the sun, the air from the land, that continues for a considerable time rarefied, on account of the vapours which are constantly rising from the heated globe, necessarily flows back upon the air of the sea : this is what is generally called a land breeze. It is most sensibly felt in the night, and continues till the air of the sea, rarefied by the heat of the sun, flows back again towards the land, where the air hath been condensed by the coolness of the night. It hath also been observed, that the easterly wind blows more regularly, and with greater force, in the dog-days, than at any other times of the year ; because the sun then acts more powerfully on the air. Thus nature causes the excessive heat of the sun to contribute to the refreshment of those climates that are parched up by its rays. It is thus, that in fire-engines art make the fire instrumental in supplying constantly with fresh water the copper vessels from which it is exhausted by evaporation.

The rain contributes also to the temperature of the American islands, though not equally in them all. In those places where the easterly wind meets with nothing to oppose its progress, it dispels the clouds as they begin to rise, and compels them to break, either in the woods, or upon the mountains. But whenever the storms are too violent, or the blowing of the easterly wind is interrupted by the changeable and temporary effect of the southern and westerly ones, it then begins to rain. In the other Caribbee islands, where this wind doth not generally blow, the rains are so frequent and plentiful, especially in the winter season, which lasts from the middle of July to the middle of October, that, according to the most accurate observations, as much water falls in one week, during this time, as in our climates in the

space of a year. Instead of those mild and refreshing showers which we sometimes enjoy in Europe, the rains in these climates are torrents, the sound of which may be mistaken for that of hail, if this were not almost unknown under so burning a sky.

These showers, it must be allowed, refresh the air ; but they occasion a dampness, the effects of which are no less disagreeable than fatal. The dead must be interred within a few hours after they have expired. Meat will not keep sweet above four-and-twenty hours. The fruits decay, whether they are gathered ripe, or before their maturity. The bread must be made up into biscuits, to prevent its growing mouldy. Common wines soon turn sour ; and iron grows rusty in a day's time. The seeds can only be preserved by constant attention and care, till the proper season returns for sowing them. When the Caribbee islands were first discovered, the corn that was conveyed there for the support of those who could not accustom themselves to the food of the natives of the country, was so soon damaged, that it became necessary to send it in the ears. This necessary precaution enhanced the price of it so much, that few people were able to buy it. Flour was then substituted in lieu of corn, which lowered, indeed, the expences of transport, but was attended with this inconvenience, that it was sooner damaged. It was imagined by a merchant, that if the flour were entirely separated from the bran, which contributes to its fermentation, it would have the double advantage of cheapness and of keeping longer. He caused it therefore to be sifted, and put the finest flour into strong casks, and beat it close together with iron hammers, till it became so hard a body, that the air could scarce penetrate it. Experience justified so sensible a contrivance : the practice of it hath become general, and been considerably improved ever since.

It was thought that nothing more remained to be done, when M. du Hamel proposed another precaution, that of drying the flour in stoves, before it was embarked. This idea attracted the attention of the French ministry, Flour prepared in the new way, and some according to the former mode, was sent to the other hemisphere. Upon

their return, the first had lost nothing, and the last was half rotten, and deprived of its glutinous property. The same result, hath attended all the experiments. It is pleasing to hope, that a discovery so useful will not be lost for the nations that have formed settlements to the south of America. If it doth not secure to the provisions the same degree of duration that they have in our dry and temperate climates, they will not at least be corrupted so soon, and will be preserved for a longer time.

HOWEVER troublesome these natural effects of the rain may be, it is attended with some still more formidable; such as frequent and sometimes dreadful earthquakes in the islands. As they generally happen during the time, or towards the end of the rainy season, and when the tides are highest, some ingenious naturalists have therefore supposed that they might be owing to these two causes.

Ordinary phenomenon in the islands.

The waters of the sky and of the sea undermine, dig up, and ravage the earth in several ways. The ocean, in particular, exerts its fury upon this globe with a violence that can neither be foreseen nor prevented. Among the various shocks to which it is constantly exposed, from this restless and boisterous element, there is one, which, at the Caribbee islands, is distinguished by the name of *raz de maree*, or whirlpool. It constantly happens once, twice, or three times, from July to October, and always on the western coasts; because it takes place after the time of the westerly and southerly winds, or while they blow. The waves, which at a distance, seem to advance gently within four or five hundred yards, suddenly swell against the shore, as if acted upon in an oblique direction by some superior force, and break with the greatest impetuosity. The ships which are then upon the coast, or in the roads beyond it, unable either to put to sea or keep their anchors, are dashed to pieces against the land, leaving the unhappy sailors entirely without hopes of escaping that certain death, the approaches of which they have been expecting for several hours.

So extraordinary a motion of the sea hath been hitherto considered as the consequence of a storm. But a storm follows the direction of the wind, from one point of the compass to another; and whirlpools are felt in one part of an island that is sheltered by another island, where the shock is not at all perceived. This observation hath induced Mr. Dutasta, who has travelled through Africa and America, as a natural philosopher, a merchant, and a statesman, to seek for a more probable cause of this singular phenomenon. He hath not only discovered this, but also several other truths that may be useful to many of the sciences, if he should ever make them public. We shall then, probably, acquire more certain information concerning hurricanes.

The hurricane is a violent wind, generally accompanied with rain, lightning, and thunder, sometimes with earthquakes; and always attended with the most melancholy and fatal consequences that the wind can produce. The day, which in the torrid zone is usually bright and clear, is suddenly changed into a dark and universal night; the appearance of a perpetual spring into the dreariness and horror of the most gloomy winter. Trees, as ancient as the world itself, are torn up by the roots, and instantly disappear. The strongest and the most solid buildings are in a moment buried in ruins. Where the eye delighted itself with the prospect of rich and verdant hills, nothing is to be seen but plantations entirely destroyed, and frightful caverns. The unhappy sufferers, deprived of their whole support, weep over the carcases of the dead, or search among the ruins for their friends and relations. The noise of the waters, of the woods, of the thunder, and of the winds, that break against the shattered rocks; the cries and howlings of men and animals, promiscuously involved in a whirlwind of sand, stones, and ruins of buildings: all together seem to portend the last struggles of expiring nature.

These hurricanes, however, contribute to produce more plentiful crops, and to ripen the fruits of the earth. Whether these violent concussions tear up the ground, in order to render it more fertile, or whether the hurricane brings along with it certain substances fit to promote the

vegetation of plants, is not easily determined : but it hath been observed, that this seeming and temporary confusion was not only a consequence of the uniformity of nature, which makes even dissolution itself instrumental to regeneration, but also the means of preserving the general system, the life and vigour of which is maintained by an internal fermentation, the source of partial evil and of general good.

The first inhabitants of the Caribbee islands imagined that they had discovered infallible prognostics of this alarming phenomenon. They observed, that, when it was near at hand, the air was misty, the sun red, and yet the weather calm, and the tops of the mountains clear. Under the earth, and in the reservoirs of water, a dull sound was heard, like that arising from pent-up winds. The stars were clouded by a vapour, that made them appear larger. The sky, in the north-west, was overspread with dark and black clouds, that seemed very alarming. The sea sent forth a strong and disagreeable smell, and, in the midst of a calm, was suddenly agitated. The wind changed in a moment from east to west, and blew very violently at different intervals, each of which continued for two hours together.

Though the truth of all these observations cannot be ascertained, yet to pay no attention to the ideas, and even prejudices, of savage nations on times and seasons, would be a seeming indication of imprudence, or of a mind too little addicted to philosophical inquiries. The want of employment of these people, and their being habituated to live in open air, afford them an opportunity, and put them under a necessity, of observing the smallest alterations in the air, and of acquiring such informations on this point, as have escaped the more enlightened nations, which are more employed, and more devoted to works of a sedentary nature. Possibly we must be indebted to the man who dwells in the forests for the discovery of effects, and to the learned man for the investigation of causes. Let us trace, if possible, the cause of hurricanes, a phenomenon so frequent in America, that this alone would have been sufficient to make it be deserted, or render it uninhabitable, many ages ago.

No hurricanes come from the east, that is, from the greatest extent of the sea at the Caribbee islands. As this is an acknowledged fact, it would induce us to believe, that they are formed on the continent of America. The west wind which blows constantly, and sometimes very violently in the southern parts, from July to January, and the north wind blowing at the same time in the northern parts, must, when they meet, oppose each other with a force proportionate to their natural velocity. If this shock happens in the long and narrow passes of the mountains, it must occasion a strong current of air, that will extend itself in a compound ratio of the moving power, and the diameter of the narrow pass of the mountain. Every solid body that meets this current of air, will be impressed with a degree of force proportioned to the extent of surface it opposes to the current; so that, if the position of that surface should be perpendicular to the direction of the hurricane, it is impossible to determine what effect might be produced upon the whole mass. Fortunately, the different bearings of the coast of these islands, and their angular or spherical figure, occasion these dreadful hurricanes to fall upon surfaces more or less oblique, which divert the current of air, break its force, and gradually destroy its effects. Experience also proves, that their action is by degrees so much weakened, that even in the direction where the hurricane falls with most force, it is scarce felt at ten leagues distance. The most accurate observers have remarked, that all the hurricanes which have successively subverted the islands, came from the north-west, and consequently from the narrow passes formed by the mountains of St. Martha. The distance of some islands from this direction, is not a sufficient reason for rejecting this opinion; as several causes may contribute to divert a current of air to the south or east. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that those persons have been in an error, who have asserted, that the violence of a hurricane was felt under whatever point of the compass the wind came from. Such are the destructive phenomena nature hath opposed to the acquisition of the riches of the New World: but what barrier could restrain the daring spirit of the navigator who discovered it?

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS having first formed a settlement at St. Domingo, one of the Greater Antilles, discovered the Lefs. The islanders he had to encounter there, were not so weak and cowardly as those he had at first subdued. The Caribs, who thought they originally came from Guiana, were of moderate stature, thick set and strong, and such as seemed adapted to form men of superior strength, if their manner of life and exercises had seconded these natural appearances. Their legs, thick and muscular, were generally well made; their eyes black, large, and somewhat prominent. Their whole figure would have been pleasing, had they not spoiled their natural beauty by fancied and artificial ornaments, which could only be agreeable among themselves. The eye-brows and the head were the only parts of the body on which they suffered any hair to grow. They wore no garment, nor had this any influence on their chastity. In order to guard against the bite of insects, they painted all their bodies over with the juice of the rocou, or arnotto, which gave them the appearance of a boiled lobster.

Customs of the Caribs, the ancient inhabitants of the Windward islands.

Their religion consisted only in some confused belief of a good and bad principle; an opinion so natural to man, that we find it diffused among the most savage nations, and preserved even among many civilised people. They were little concerned about the tutelary divinity, but had the greatest dread of the evil principle. Their other superstitions were more absurd than dangerous, and they were but little attached to them. This indifference did not contribute to render them more ready to embrace christianity when it was proposed to them. Without entering into dispute with those who expounded the doctrines, they contented themselves with rejecting the belief of them, *for fear*, as they said, *that their neighbours should laugh at them.*

Though the Caribs had no regular form of government among them, yet they lived quietly and peaceably with one another. The tranquillity they enjoyed was entirely owing to that innate principle of compassion

which precedes all reflection, and is the source of all social virtues. This humane spirit of benevolence arises from the very frame and nature of man, whose self-love alone is sufficient to make him abhor the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. To infuse, therefore, a spirit of humanity into the minds of tyrants, it would only be necessary to make them the executioners of those victims they sacrifice to their pride, and of those cruelties they order to be practised upon others. The hands of those voluptuaries should be obliged to mutilate the eunuchs of their seraglios; they should be forced to attend the field of battle; they should there behold the bleeding wounds, hear the imprecations, and be witnesses of the agonies and convulsions of their dying soldiers; they should next attend the hospitals, and at leisure contemplate the wounds, the fractures, the diseases occasioned by famine, by labours equally dangerous and unwholesome, by cruel services and taxes, and by the other calamities which arise from the vices and profligacy of their manners. How greatly would scenes like these, occasionally introduced in the education of princes, contribute to lessen the crimes and sufferings of the human race! What benefits would not the people derive from the compassionate emotions of their sovereigns?

Among the Caribs, whose hearts were not depraved by the pernicious institutions that corrupt us, neither adultery, treason, nor massacres, so common among civilized nations, were known. Religion, the laws, and penal punishments, those barriers raised to protect old customs from the encroachments of new ones, were useless to men who followed nature alone. Theft was never heard of among these savages, before the Europeans came among them. When they discovered any thing missing, they observed, *that the christians had been with them.*

These islanders were little acquainted with the strongest passions of the soul, not even with that of love. This passion was with them merely a sensual appetite. They never shewed the least marks of attention or tenderness for that sex, so much courted in other countries. They considered their wives rather in the light of slaves than of companions; they did not even suffer them to eat with

them, and had usurped the right of divorcing them, without granting them the indulgence of marrying again. The women felt themselves born to obey, and submitted patiently to their fate.

In other respects, a taste for power had little influence on the minds of the Caribs; as they had no distinction of ranks among them, they were all on a footing of equality, and were extremely surprised to find degrees of subordinations established among the Europeans. This system was so repugnant to their ideas, that they considered those as slaves who had the weakness to receive the commands of a superior, and obey them. The subjection of the women among them, was a natural consequence of the weakness of the sex. But in what manner, and for what reason, the stronger men submitted themselves to the weaker; and how one man commanded the whole body, was a problem that neither war, treachery, nor superstition, had been able to resolve.

The manners of a people, neither influenced by interest, vanity, nor ambition, must be very simple. Every family formed within itself a republic, distinct in some degree from the rest of the nation. They composed a hamlet, called *carbet*, of greater or less consequence, in proportion to the space of ground it occupied. The chief or patriarch of the family lived in the centre, with his wives and younger children. Around him were placed the huts of such of his descendants as were married. The columns that supported these huts were stakes; the roofs were thatched; and the whole furniture consisted of some weapons, cotton beds, made very plain and simple, some baskets, and utensils made of calabashes.

In these huts the Caribs spent the greatest part of their life, either in sleeping or smoking. When they went out, they retired into some corner, and sat upon the ground, seemingly absorbed in the most profound contemplation. Whenever they spoke, which was not very often, they were heard without interruption or contradiction, and without any answer, but the sign of a tacit approbation.

They were not much troubled in providing for their sustenance. Savages, who spent their life in the con-

dened air of the forest, who had the custom of covering themselves with a lyer of rocou, which closed up the pores of the skin; who spent their days in idleness and indolence; such savages must necessarily perspire very little, and be very moderate in their eating. Without being compelled to the labours of cultivation, they found constantly, at the foot of the trees, a wholesome food, fitted to their constitution; and which required no great preparation. If they sometimes added to these gifts of liberal and uncultivated nature, what they had taken in hunting and fishing, it was mostly upon occasion of some public feast.

These extraordinary festivals were not holden at any stated times. The guests themselves showed no alteration in their usual characters. In these meetings they were not more gay or sprightly than at other times. A spirit of indolence and listlessness appeared in their countenances. Their dances were so grave and solemn, that the motions of their bodies were expressive of the dullness of their minds. But these gloomy festivals, like those clouded skies that are the forerunners of a storm, were seldom concluded without bloodshed. These savages, who were so temperate when alone, grew drunk when assembled in companies, and their intoxication excited and revived those family dissensions, that were either only stifled or not entirely extinguished: and thus these festivals terminated in massacres. Hatred and revenge, the only passions that could deeply agitate the minds of these savages, were thus perpetuated by convivial pleasures. In the height of these entertainments, parents and relations embraced one another, and swore that they would wage war upon the continent, and, sometimes, in the great islands.

The Caribs used to embark upon boats, made of a single tree, that had been felled by burning its roots. Whole years had been employed in hollowing these canoes, by hatchets made of stone, or by means of fire, skilfully applied within the trunk of the tree, in order to bring it to the most proper form. These free and voluntary warriors being arrived on the coasts, to which they were led, sometimes by a blind caprice, and sometimes by violent hatred, went in quest of nations to exterminate:

They made their attack with a kind of club, nearly as long as the arm, and with poisoned arrows. At their return from this military expedition, which was the more speedily brought to a conclusion, as mutual enmity rendered it more cruel and spirited, the savages fell again into their former state of indolence and inactivity.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the advantage of fire-arms, did not continue long at war with this people, nor were they always successful. At first they fought only for gold, and afterwards for slaves; but not meeting with any mines, and the Caribs being so proud and sullen that they died when reduced to slavery, the Spaniards gave up all thoughts of making conquests, which they thought of little consequence, and which they could neither acquire nor preserve without constant and bloody wars.

THE English and French, being apprised of these transactions, ventured to equip a small fleet, in order to intercept the Spanish vessels which frequented these latitudes. The advantages gained increased the number of pirates. Peace, which frequently took place in Europe, did not prevent these expeditions. The custom that prevailed among the Spaniards, of stopping all ships that sailed beyond the tropic, justified such piracies.

The English and French settled in the Windward islands on the ruin of the Caribs.

The two nations had long been acquainted with the Windward islands, without ever thinking of making any settlement there, or having been able to fix upon the mode of doing it. They were, perhaps, apprehensive of irritating the Caribs, by whom they had been favourably received; or, perhaps, they considered that a soil which afforded none of those productions that were of use in the Old World, was unworthy of their attention. At length, however, some English and French, the former headed by Warner, and the latter by Denambuc, landed at St. Christophers on the same day, at two opposite parts of the island. The frequent losses they sustained, served to convince them both, that they certainly would never tri-

umph over, and enrich themselves with the spoils of the common enemy, unless they had some fixed residence, ports, and a place of general rendezvous. As they had no notion of commerce, agriculture, or conquest, they amicably divided the coasts of the island where they accidentally met together. The natives of the country retired from the spot they were fixed upon, telling them at the same time, that *land must either be very bad or very scarce with them, since they were come from so great a distance, and had exposed themselves to so many dangers, to seek for it among them.*

The court of Madrid were not so peaceably inclined. Frederick of Toledo, who was sent to Brazil in the year 1630, with a powerful fleet, to attack the Dutch, was ordered, in his passage, to destroy the pirates, who, according to the prejudices of that nation, had invaded one of their territories. The vicinity of two active and industrious nations occasioned the greatest anxiety to the Spaniards. They were sensible that their colonies would be exposed to attacks, if any other people should come to settle in that part of America.

The French and English in vain united their weak powers against the common enemy: they were beaten; and those who were not either killed in the action, or not taken prisoners, fled for shelter, with the utmost precipitation, into the neighbouring islands. When the danger was over, the most of them returned to their former settlements. Spain, whose attention was engrossed by objects she considered as of greater importance, disturbed them no more; taking it for granted, perhaps, that their mutual jealousies would occasion their destruction.

Unfortunately for the Caribs, the two nations, thus conquered, suspended their rivalry. The Caribs, already suspected of forming a conspiracy in St. Christophers, were either banished or destroyed. Their wives, their provisions, and even the lands they occupied, were seized upon. A spirit of anxiety, the consequence of usurpation, inclined the Europeans to believe that the other savage nations had entered into the conspiracy; and they were therefore attacked in their islands. In vain did those plain and inoffensive men, who had no inclination

to contend for the possession of a land which they considered not as their property, remove the boundaries of their habitations, in proportion as the Europeans advanced with their encroachments; they were still pursued with the same eagerness and obstinacy. As soon as they perceived that their lives or liberties were in danger, they at length took up arms; and the spirit of revenge, which always goes beyond the injury, must have sometimes contributed to render him cruel, though not unjust.

In earlier times, the English and the French considered the Caribs as their common enemy; but this kind of casual association was frequently interrupted. It implied not a lasting engagement, much less the becoming guarantee for their mutual possessions. The savages artfully contrived to be at peace, sometimes with one nation, and sometimes with the other; and thus they gained the advantage of having only one enemy at a time. This management would have been but of little service to these islanders, had not Europe, scarce paying any attention to a few adventurers, whose excursions had as yet been of no use to her, and not sufficiently enlightened to penetrate into futurity, neglected both the care of governing them, as well as that of putting them into a condition to extend or recover the advantages they had already acquired. The indifference shewn by the two mother-countries, determined their subjects of the New World, in the month of January 1660, to enter into an alliance, securing to each people those possessions the various events of war had procured them, and which till then had been totally unsettled. This alliance was accompanied with an offensive and defensive league, to compel the natives of the country to join in this plan; to which their fears induced them to accede the very same year.

By this treaty, which established tranquillity in this part of America, France obtained Guadaloupe, Martinico, Gronada, and some less considerable acquisitions. England was confirmed in the possession of Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and several other islands of little value: St. Christophers belonged to both nations. The Caribs were confined to Dominica and St. Vincents,

where all the scattered body of this people united, and did not at that time exceed in number 6000 men.

The French take possession of part of St. Domingo. Character of these adventurers.

At this period, the English settlements had acquired under a government, which, though not free from defects, was yet tolerable, some kind of form, and were in a flourishing state. On the contrary, the French colonies were abandoned by a great number of their inhabitants, reduced to despair, from the necessity they were under of submitting to the tyranny of exclusive privileges. These men, passionately attached to liberty, fled to the northern coast of St. Domingo, a place of refuge for several adventurers of their own country, since they had been driven out of St. Christophers about thirty years before.

They were called buccaneers, because they imitated the custom of the savages, in drying the food they lived upon by smoke, in places called buccans. As they had no wives nor children, they usually associated two in a company, to assist one another in family duties. In these societies property was common, and the last survivor inherited all that remained. Theft was unknown among them, though no precautions were taken against it; and what was wanting at home was freely borrowed from some of the neighbours, without any other restriction than that of a previous intimation, if they were at home; if not, of making them acquainted with it at their return. Cæsar found in Gaul the same custom, which bears the double character, both of a primitive state, in which every thing was in common; and of times posterior to that in which the idea of private property was known and respected. Differences seldom arose, and, when they did, were easily adjusted. If the parties, however, were obstinate, they decided the matter by fire-arms. If the ball entered at the back or the sides, it was considered as a mark of treachery, and the assassin was immediately put to death. The former laws of their country were disregarded, and by the usual sea baptism they had received in passing the tropic, they considered themselves exempted from all obligation to obey them. These ad-

venturers had even quitted their family name to assume others, borrowed from terms of war, most of which have been transmitted to their posterity.

The dress of these barbarians consisted of a shirt dipped in the blood of the animals they killed in hunting; a pair of drawers dirtier than the shirt, and made in the shape of a brewer's apron; a girdle made of leather, on which a very short sabre was hung, and some knives; a hat without any rim, except a flap before, in order to take hold of it; and shoes without stockings. Their ambition was satisfied, if they could but provide themselves with a gun that carried balls of an ounce weight, and with a pack of about five and twenty or thirty dogs.

The buccaneers spent their life in hunting the wild bulls, of which there were great numbers in the island, since the Spaniards had brought them. The best parts of these animals, when seasoned with pimento and orange juice, were the most common food of their destroyers, who had forgotten the use of bread, and who had nothing but water to drink. The hides of these animals were conveyed to several ports, and bought by the navigators. They were carried thither by men who were called *engages*, or bondsmen, a set of persons who were used to sell themselves in Europe to serve as slaves in the colonies during the term of three years. One of these miserable men presuming to represent to his master, who always fixed upon a Sunday for this voyage, that God had forbidden such a practice, when he had declared, *six days shalt thou labour, and on the seventh day shalt thou rest*: and I, replied the brutal buccaneer, say to thee, *six days thou shalt kill bulls, and strip them of their skins, and on the seventh day thou shalt carry their hides to the sea-shore*. This command was followed by blows, which sometimes enforce obedience, sometimes disobedience, to the laws of God.

Men of such a cast, habituated to constant exercises, and feeding every day on fresh meat, were little exposed to diseases. Their excursions were only suspended by a slight fever, which lasted one day, and was not felt the next. They must, however, have been weakened by length of time, under a climate of too intense a heat, to

enable them to support so hard and so laborious a manner of life.

The climate, indeed, was the only enemy the buccaneers had reason to fear. The Spanish colony, at first so considerable, was reduced to nothing. Neglected and forgotten by the mother-country, it had even lost the remembrance of its former greatness. The few inhabitants that survived lived in a state of indolence: their slaves had no other employment but to swing them in their hammocs. Confined to those wants only that are satisfied by nature, frugality prolonged their lives to an old age, rarely to be met with in more temperate climates.

It is probable they would not have been roused from their indolence, had not the enterprising and active spirit of their enemies pursued them in proportion as they retreated. Exasperated at length, from having their tranquillity and ease continually disturbed, they invited from the continent, and from the neighbouring islands, some troops, who fell upon the dispersed buccaneers. They unexpectedly attacked these barbarians in small parties in their excursions, or in the night-time, when retired into their huts, and many of them were massacred: These adventurers would most probably have been all destroyed, had they not formed themselves into a body for their mutual defence. They were under an absolute necessity of separating in the day-time, but met together in the evening. If any one of them was missing, it was supposed that he was either taken prisoner or killed, and the chase was delayed, till he was either found, or his death revenged. We may easily conceive how much blood must have been shed by such ruffians, belonging to no country, and subject to no laws; hunters and warriors from the calls of nature and instinct; and excited to murder and massacres from being habituated to attack, and from the necessity of defending themselves. In the height of their fury, they devoted every thing to destruction, without any distinction of sex or age. The Spaniards, at length despairing of being able to get the better of such savage and obstinate enemies, took the resolution of destroying all the bulls of the islands, by a general chase. The execution of this design having deprived the buccaneers

of their usual resources, put them under the necessity of making settlements, and cultivating the lands.

France, which till that time had disclaimed for her subjects these ruffians, whose successes were only temporary, acknowledged them, however, as soon as they formed themselves into settlements. In 1665, she sent them over a man of probity and understanding to govern them. Several women attended him, who, like most of those who have at different periods been sent into the New World, were noted for their vices and licentiousness. The buccaneers were not offended at the profligacy of their manners; each of them said to the woman who fell to his lot:—

“ I take thee, without knowing, or caring to know,
“ whom thou art. If any body from whence thou comest
“ would have had thee, thou wouldst not have come in
“ quest of me; but no matter. I do not desire thee to
“ give me an account of thy past conduct, because I have
“ no right to be offended at it, at the time when thou
“ wast at liberty to behave either well or ill, according
“ to thy own pleasure; and because I shall have no reason
“ to be ashamed of any thing thou wast guilty of
“ when thou didst not belong to me. Give me only thy
“ word for the future. I acquit thee of what is past.”
Then striking his hand on the barrel of his gun, he added,
“ this will revenge me of thy breach of faith: if thou
“ shouldst prove false, this will certainly be true to my
“ aim.”

THE English had not waited till their rivals had obtained a firm settlement in the Great Antilles to procure themselves an establishment there. The declining state of the kingdom of Spain, weakened by its internal divisions, by the revolt of Catalonia and Portugal, by the commotions of Naples, by the destruction of its formidable infantry in the plains of Rocroy, by its continual losses in the Netherlands, by the incapacity of its ministers, and even by the extinction of that national pride, which, after having been kept up and maintained by fixing itself on great objects, had degenerated into an

*The English
conquer Ja-
marica.*

indolent haughtiness: all these circumstances, tending to the ruin of the Spanish monarchy, left no room to doubt that war might be successfully waged against her. France skillfully took the advantage of these confusions she had partly occasioned; and Cromwell, in the year 1655, joined her, in order to share in the spoils of a kingdom hastening to destruction in every part.

This conduct of the protector caused a revolt among the best English officers, who, considering it as an instance of great injustice, determined to quit the service. They thought, that the will of their superiors could not give sanction to an enterprise which violated all the principles of equity; and that by concurring in the execution of it, they would be guilty of the greatest crime. The rest of the Europeans looked upon these principles of virtue and honour as the effect of that republican and fanatical spirit which then prevailed in England; but they attacked the protector with other motives.

Spain had long threatened to enslave all other nations. Perhaps the multitude, who are little able to estimate the strength of nations, and to weigh the variations in the balance of power, were not yet recovered from their ancient prejudices. An universal panic had seized the minds of those able men who attentively studied the general progress of affairs. They were sensible, that, if the rapid and extraordinary successes of France were not checked by some foreign power, she would deprive the Spaniards of their possessions, impose on them what laws she thought proper, compel them to the marriage of the infanta with Lewis the XV, secure to herself the inheritance of Charles V, and oppress the liberty of Europe that she had formerly protected. Cromwell, who had lately subverted the government of his country, seemed a fit person to give a check to the power of kings: but he was looked upon as the weakest of politicians; when he was observed to form connections, which his own private interests, those of his country, as well as those of Europe in general, ought absolutely to have prevented him from entering into.

These observations could not possibly escape the deep and penetrating genius of the usurper. But, perhaps,

he was desirous of preserving the idea the nation already entertained of his abilities, by some important conquest. If he had declared himself on the side of Spain, the execution of this project must have been chimerical; as the utmost he could possibly expect was to restore the balance of power between the two contending parties. He imagined it more favourable to his designs, to begin to form a connection with France, and afterwards to attack her, when he had made himself master of those possessions that were the object of his ambition. Whatever truth there may be in these conjectures, which, however, may be supported from the evidence of history, and are, at least, consistent with the character of the extraordinary politician who is supposed to have adopted this mode of reasoning, the English went into the New World to attack an enemy they had just brought upon themselves.

Their first attempts were directed against the town of St. Domingo, the inhabitants of which retired into the woods as soon as they saw a large fleet commanded by Penn, and nine thousand land forces headed by Venables, appear before the city. But the errors committed by their enemies inspiring these fugitives with fresh courage, they returned, and compelled the enemy to retire with disgrace. This misfortune was the consequence of the ill-concerted plan of this expedition.

The two commanders of this enterprise were men of very moderate abilities. They entertained a mutual hatred against each other, and was not attached to the protector. Inspectors had been appointed to watch over them, who, under the name of commissaries, checked their operations. The soldiers who were sent from Europe were the refuse of the army; and the militia taken from Barbadoes and St. Christophers, were under no kind of discipline. The hope of plunder, that stimulus necessary for the success of distant and difficult enterprises, was prohibited. Matters were arranged in such a manner, as to render it impossible for any kind of harmony to subsist between the several persons who were to concur in their success. Proper arms, provisions fit for the climate, and the information necessary to conduct the enterprise, were all wanting.

The execution of the attack was answerable to the plan. The landing of the troops, which might have been effected without danger, even in the port itself, was accomplished without a guide, at forty miles distance. The troops wandered about for four days without water or provisions. Exhausted by the excessive heat of the climate, and discouraged by the cowardice and misunderstanding of their officers, they did not even contend with the Spaniards for victory. They scarce thought themselves in safety, when they had got back to their ships.

But ill success contributed to reconcile the irritated parties. The English, who had not yet contracted the habit of bearing disgrace, reclaimed by the very faults they had committed, and restored to the love of their country, to a sense of their duty, and to a thirst of glory, sailed for Jamaica, with a determined resolution, either to perish, or to make the conquest of it.

The inhabitants of this island, subject to Spain since the year 1509, were ignorant of what had happened at St. Domingo, and did not imagine they had any enemy sailing in the neighbouring seas. The English, therefore, landed without opposition. They were boldly marching to lay siege to St. Jago, the only fortified place in the colony, when the governor gave a check to their ardour, by offering them terms of capitulation. The discussion of the articles, artfully prolonged, gave the colonists time to remove their most valuable effects into secret places. They themselves fled for shelter to inaccessible mountains, leaving only to the conquerors a city without inhabitants, moveables, treasures, or provisions.

This artifice exasperated the besiegers. They sent out detachments on every side, with express orders to destroy every thing they met with. The disappointment they felt on finding these parties return without having discovered any thing; the want of every convenience, more sensibly felt by this nation than any other; the mortality which increased among them every day; the dread they were under of being attacked by all the forces of the New World: all these circumstances conspired to make them clamorous for a speedy return into England. The cowardly desertion of so rich a prize as Jamaica, which

they had almost resolved upon, would soon have exposed them to the mortifying reproaches of their country, had they not discovered at last some pasture land, where the fugitives had conveyed their numerous flocks. This unexpected good fortune occasioned a change in the sentiments of the English, and made them resolve to complete their conquest.

The spirit of activity, which this last resolution had excited, convinced the besieged, that they could not remain with safety in the forests and precipices where they had concealed themselves. They unanimously, therefore, agreed to set sail for Cuba. Here they were received with such marks of disgrace as the weakness of their defence deserved, and they were sent back again; but with such succours as were unequal to the forces they had to contend with. From that principle of honour, which in most men arises rather from a fear of shame than a love of glory, they made a more obstinate resistance, than could have been expected from the few resources they had. They did not evacuate this considerable island, till they were reduced to the greatest extremities; and from that period it hath remained one of the most valuable possessions of Great Britain in the New World.

Before the English had made any settlement at Jamaica, and the French at St. Domingo, some pirates of both nations, who have since been so much distinguished by the name of freebooters, had driven the Spaniards out of the small island of Tortuga, situated at the distance of two leagues from St. Domingo; and fortifying themselves there, had made incursions with amazing intrepidity against the common enemy. They formed themselves into small companies, consisting of fifty, a hundred, or a hundred and fifty men each. A boat, of a greater or smaller size, was all their naval force. These boats were scarce big enough for a person to lie down in; and they had nothing to shelter them from the ardent heats of a burning climate, nor from the rains, which fall in torrents in those

*The freebooters
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regions. They were often in want of the most necessary supports of life. But all these calamities were forgotten at the sight of a ship. They never deliberated on the attack, but proceeded immediately to board the ship, of whatever size it might be. As soon as they threw out the grappling, the vessel was certainly taken.

In cases of extreme necessity, these banditti attacked the people of every nation, but fell upon the Spaniards at all times. They thought that the cruelties they had exercised on the Americans, justified the implacable aversion they had sworn against them. But this extraordinary kind of humanity was heightened by personal resentment, from the mortification they felt, in seeing themselves debarred from the privilege of hunting and fishing, which they justly considered as natural rights. Such was their insatiation, that whenever they embarked on any expedition, they used to pray to Heaven for the success of it; and they never came back from the plunder, but they constantly returned thanks to God for their victory.

The ships that arrived from Europe, seldom tempted their avidity. These barbarians would have found nothing but merchandize in them, the sale of which would not have been very profitable, and would have required too constant an attention. They always waited for them on their return, when they were laden with the gold, silver, and jewels of the other hemisphere. If they met with a single ship, they never failed to attack her. They followed the fleets themselves; and any ship that straggled, or remained behind, was inevitably lost. The Spaniards, who trembled at the sight of these implacable enemies, immediately surrendered. Life was granted to them, if the cargo proved a rich one; but if the conquerors were disappointed in their expectations, all the crew were frequently thrown into the sea.

Peter Legrand, a native of Dieppe, had no more than four pieces of cannon and twenty-eight men in his boat; yet, with this trifling force, he ventured to attack the vice-admiral of the galleons. He boarded him, having first given orders to sink his own vessel; and the Spaniards were so much surpris'd at this boldness, that not one of them attempted to oppose him. When he came

to the captain's cabin, who was engaged at play, he presented a pistol to him, and compelled him to surrender. This commander, with the greater part of the crew, they laded at the nearest cape, as a useless burden to the ship they had so ill defended, and reserved only a sufficient number of sailors to work her.

Fifty-five freebooters, who had sailed into the southern sea, proceeded as far as California. To return into the northern sea, they were obliged to sail two thousand leagues against the wind in a canoe. When they were at the straits of Magellan, they were seized with rage at having made no plunder in so rich an ocean, and steered again towards Peru. They were informed, that there was in the port of Yauca a ship, the cargo of which was valued at several millions: they immediately attacked, took her, and embarked upon her.

Michael de Basco, Jonqué, and Lawrence le Graff, were cruising before Carthagena with three small and bad vessels, when two men of war sailed out of the harbour to attack these freebooters, and to bring them alive or dead. The Spaniards were so much deceived in their expectations, that they were themselves taken prisoners. The victors kept the ships; but they sent back the crews with a degree of scorn, which greatly enhanced the shame of a defeat in itself so humiliating.

Michael and Boruage having received intelligence that a very valuable cargo had been shipped from Carthagena ed vessels carrying a foreign flag, in order to secure it from their rapine, attacked the two ships that were loaded with this treasure, and plundered them. The Dutch captains, exasperated at their being beaten by ships so inferior to theirs, ventured to tell one of these adventurers openly, that if he had been alone, he would not dare to attack them. *Let us begin the fight again,* replied the buccaneer with haughtiness, *and my companion shall remain a quiet spectator of the engagement. If I should be conqueror again, both your ships shall also be mine.* The prudent republicans, far from accepting the challenge, quickly made off, apprehending, if they should stop, that they might not have the liberty of declining it.

Lawrence, who was on-board a very small vessel, was

overtaken by two Spanish ships, carrying each sixty guns. *You have*, said he, addressing himself to his companions, *soo much experience not to be sensible of your danger, and soo much courage to fear it. On this occasion we must avail ourselves of every circumstance, hazard every thing, attack and defend ourselves at the same time. Valour, artifice, rashness, and even despair itself, must now be employed. Let us dread the ignominy of a defeat; let us dread the cruelty of our enemies; and let us fight, that we may escape them.*

After this speech, which was received with general applause, the captain called to the bravest of the freebooters, and publicly ordered him to set fire to the gunpowder, on the first signal he should give him; shewing, by this resolution, that they must either expect death, or defend themselves. Then extending his hand toward the enemy, *we must*, says he, *pass between their ships and fire upon them from every side, according to your usual custom.* This plan of operation was executed with equal courage and dispatch. The ships indeed were not taken; but the crews were so reduced in number, that they either were not able, or had not courage enough, to continue the combat against a handful of resolute men, who, even in their retreat, carried away the honour of the victory. The Spanish commander atoned, by his death, for the disgrace his ignorance and cowardice had stamped upon his country. In every engagement the freebooters shewed the same spirit of intrepidity.

When they had got a considerable booty, at first they held their rendezvous at the island of Tortuga, in order to divide the spoil; but afterwards the French went to St. Domingo, and the English to Jamaica. They all took an oath, that they had secreted none of the spoil. If any one among them was convicted of perjury, which seldom happened, he was left, as soon as an opportunity offered, upon some desert island as an infamous person. The first shares of the booty were always given to those who had been maimed in any of their engagements. If they had lost a hand, an arm, or a leg, they received two hundred crowns [251.]. An eye, or a finger, lost in fight, was valued only at half the above sum. The

wounded were allowed three livres [2s. 6d.] a-day for two months, to enable them to have their wounds taken care of. If they had not money enough to fulfil these sacred obligations, the whole company were bound to engage in some fresh expedition, and to continue it, even till they had acquired a sufficient stock to enable them to satisfy such honourable contracts.

After this act of justice and humanity, the remainder of the booty was divided. The commander, in strictness, could only lay claim to a single share as the rest; but they complimented him with two or three, in proportion as they were satisfied with his skill, valour, and conduct. When the vessel was not the property of the company, the person who had fitted it out, and furnished it with necessary arms and provisions, was intitled to a third of the prizes. Favour never had any influence in the division of the booty; for every share was rigidly determined by lot. This probity was extended even to the dead. Their share was given to their surviving companion. If the person who had been killed had none, his part was sent to his family. If there were no friends or relations, it was distributed in charity to the poor and to churches, which were to pray for the person in whose name these benefactions were given, the fruits of inhuman but necessary piratical plunder.

They afterwards indulged themselves in profusions of all kinds. Unbounded licentiousness in gaming, wine, women, every kind of debauchery was carried to the utmost pitch of excess, and was stopt only by the want which such profusions brought on. Those men, who were enriched with several millions, were in an instant totally ruined, and destitute of cloths and provisions. They returned to sea, and the new supplies they acquired were soon lavished in the same manner. If these madmen were asked what satisfaction they could find in dissipating so rapidly, what they had gained with so much difficulty? they made this very ingenuous reply: "Exposed as we are to such a variety of dangers, our life is totally different from that of other men. Why should we, who are alive to-day, and may be dead to-morrow, think of hoarding up? We reckon only the

"day we live, but never think upon that which is to come. Our concern is rather to squander life away, than to preserve it."

The Spanish colonies, flattered themselves with the hopes of seeing an end to their miseries, and reduced almost to despair in finding themselves a perpetual prey to these ruffians, grew weary of navigation. They gave up all the power, conveniences, and fortune their connections procured them, and formed themselves almost into so many distinct and separate states. They were sensible of the inconveniences arising from such a conduct, and avowed them; but the dread of falling into the hands of rapacious and savage men had greater influence over them than the dictates of honour, interest, and policy. This was the rise of that spirit of inactivity which continues to this time.

This despondency served only to increase the boldness of the freebooters. As yet they had only appeared in the Spanish settlements, in order to carry off some provisions; and even this they had done very seldom. They no sooner found their captures begin to diminish, than they determined to recover by land what they had lost at sea. The richest and most populous countries of the continent were plundered and laid waste. The culture of lands was equally neglected with navigation; and the Spaniards dared no more appear in their public roads, than sail in the latitudes which belonged to them.

Among the freebooters who signalized themselves in this new species of excursions, Montbar, a gentleman of Languedoc, particularly distinguished himself. Having, by chance, in his infancy, met with a circumstantial account of the cruelties practised in the New World, he conceived an aversion, which he carried to a degree of frenzy, against that nation that had committed such enormities. Upon this point a story is told of him, that when he was at college, and acting in a play the part of a Frenchman, who quarrelled with a Spaniard; he fell upon the person who personated the Spaniard with such fury, that he would have strangled him, had he not been rescued out of his hands. His heated imagination continually represented to him insumerable multitudes of

people massacred by savage monsters who came out of Spain. He was animated with an irresistible ardour to avenge so much innocent blood. The enthusiasm this spirit of humanity worked him up to, was turned into a rage more cruel than the thirst of gold, or the fanaticism of religion, to which so many victims had been sacrificed. The manes of these unhappy sufferers seemed to rouse him, and call upon him for vengeance. He had heard some account of the *brethern of the coast*, as of the most inveterate enemies to the Spanish name: he therefore embarked on-board a ship in order to join them.

In the passage they met with a Spanish vessel, attacked it, and, as it was usual in those times, immediately boarded it. Montbar, with a sabre in his hand, fell upon the enemy, broke through them, and, hurrying twice from one end of the ship to the other, levelled every thing that opposed him. When he had compelled the enemy to surrender, leaving to his companions the happiness of dividing so rich a booty, he contented himself with the savage pleasure of contemplating the dead bodies of the Spaniards lying in heaps together, against whom he had sworn a constant and deadly hatred.

Fresh opportunities soon occurred, that enabled him to exert his spirit of revenge, without extinguishing it. The ship he was upon arrived at the coast of St. Domingo. The French who were settled in the island brought him only a small quantity of refreshment, and alleged, in excuse, that the Spaniards had laid waste their settlements. "Why," replied Montbar, "do you suffer such insults?" "Neither do we," answered they in the same tone; "the Spaniards have experienced what kind of men we are, and have therefore taken advantage of time when we are engaged in hunting. But we are going to join some of our companions, who have been still more ill-treated than we, and then we shall have warm work." "If you approve it," answered Montbar, "I will head you, not as your commander, but as the foremost to expose myself to danger." The buccaniers perceiving, from his appearance, that he was such a man as they wanted, cheerfully accepted his offer. The same day they overtook the enemy, and Montbar

attacked them with an impetuosity that astonished the bravest. Nothing escaped the effects of his fury. The remaining part of his life was equally distinguished as this day. The Spaniards suffered so much from him, both by land and sea, that he acquired the name of the *Exterminator*.

His savage disposition, as well as that of the other buccaneers who attended him, having obliged the Spaniards to confine themselves within their settlements, these freebooters resolved to attack them there. This new method of carrying on the war required superior forces; and their associations, in consequence, became more numerous. The first that was considerable was formed by Lolonois, who derived his name from the sands of Olone, the place of his birth. From the abject state of a bondsman, he had gradually raised himself to the command of two canoes, with twenty-two men. With these he was so successful, as to take a Spanish frigate on the coast of Cuba. A slave having observed that all the men that were wounded were put to death, and fearing lest he should share the same fate, wanted to save himself by a perfidious declaration, but very consistent with the part he had been destined to take. He assured them, that the governor of the Havannah had put him on-board, in order to serve as executioner to all the buccaneers he had sentenced to be hanged, not doubting in the least but they would be all taken prisoners. The savage Lolonois, fired with rage at this declaration, ordered all the Spaniards to be brought before him, and cut off their heads one after another, sucking, at each stroke, the drops of blood that trickled down his sabre. He then repaired to the Port-au-Prince, in which were four ships, fitted out purposely to sail in pursuit of him. He took them, and threw all the crews into the sea, except one man, whom he saved, in order to send him with a letter to the governor of the Havannah, acquainting him with what he had done, and assuring him, that he would treat in the same manner all the Spaniards that should fall into his hands, not excepting the governor himself, if he should be so fortunate as to take him. After this

expedition, he ran his canoes and prize-ships aground, and sailed with his frigate only to the island of Tortuga.

Here he met with Michael de Basco, who had so much distinguished himself in having taken, even under the cannon of Porto-Bello, a Spanish ship, estimated at five or six millions of livers [from 208,333l. 6s. 8d. to 250,000l.] and by other actions equally brave and daring. These two adventurers gave out, that they are going together upon some important project, and they were joined by four hundred and forty men. This corps, the most numerous the buccaneers had yet been able to muster, sailed to the bay of Venezuela, which runs up into the country for the space of fifty leagues. The fort that was, built at the entrance of it for its defence was taken; the cannon spiked, and the whole garrison, consisting of two hundred and fifty men, put to the sword. They then re-embarked, and came to Maracaybo, built on the western coast of the lake of the same name, at the distance of ten leagues from its mouth. This city, which had become flourishing and rich by its trade in skins, tobacco, and cocoa, was deserted. The inhabitants had retired with their effects to the other side of the bay. If the buccaneers had not lost a fortnight in riot and debauch, they would have found at Gibraltar, near the extremity of the lake, every thing that the inhabitants had secreted, to secure it from being plundered. On the contrary, they met with fortifications lately erected, which they had the useless satisfaction of making themselves masters of, at the expence of a great deal of blood; for the inhabitants had already removed at a distance the most valuable part of their property. Exasperated at this disappointment, they set fire to Gibraltar. Maracaybo would have shared the same fate, had it not been ransomed. Beside the sum they received for its ransom, they also carried off with them all the crosses, pictures, and bells of the churches, intending, as they said, to build a chapel in the island of Tortuga, and to consecrate this part of their spoils to sacred purposes. Such was the religion of these barbarous people, who could make no other offering to Heaven, than that which arose from their robberies and plunder.

While they were idly dissipating the spoils they had

made on the coast of Venezuela, Morgan, the most renowned of the English freebooters, failed from Jamaica to attack Porto-Bello. His plan of operations was so well contrived, that he surprised the city, and took it without opposition. In order to secure the fort with the same facility, he compelled the women and the priests to fix the scaling-ladders to the walls, from a full conviction that the gallantry and superstition of the Spaniards would never suffer them to fire at the persons they considered as the objects of their love and reverence. But the garrison was not to be deceived by this artifice, and was only to be subdued by force of arms; the treasures that were carried away from this famous port were acquired at the expence of much bloodshed.

The conquest of Panama was an object of much greater importance. To secure this, Morgan thought it necessary to sail in the latitudes of Costa-Ricca, to procure some guides in the island of St. Catherine, to which the Spaniards transported their malefactors. This place was so strongly fortified, that it ought to have stopped the progress of the most intrepid commander for ten years. Notwithstanding this, the governor, on the first appearance of the pirates, sent privately to concert measures how he might surrender himself without incurring the imputation of cowardice. The result of this consultation was, that Morgan, in the night-time, should attack a fort at some distance, and that the governor should sally out of the citadel to defend this important post; that the besiegers should then attack him in the rear, and take him prisoner, which would consequently occasion a surrender of the place. It was agreed that a brisk firing should be kept up on both sides, without doing mischief to either. This farce was admirably carried on. The Spaniards, without being exposed to any danger, appeared to have done their duty; and the freebooters, after having totally demolished the fortifications, and put on-board their vessels a prodigious quantity of warlike stores, which they found at St. Catharines, steered their course towards the river Chagre, the only channel that was open to them, to arrive at the place which was the object of their utmost wishes.

At the entrance of this considerable river, a fort was

built upon a steep rock, which the waves of the sea constantly beat against. This bulwark, very difficult of access, was defended by an officer, whose extraordinary abilities were equal to his courage, and by a garrison that deserved such a commander. The freebooters, for the first time, here met with a resistance that could only be equalled by their perseverance: it was a doubtful point, whether they would succeed, or be obliged to raise the siege, when a lucky accident happened, that proved favourable to their glory and their fortune. The commander was killed, and the fort accidentally took fire: the besiegers then, taking advantage of this double calamity, made themselves masters of the place.

Morgan left his vessels at anchor, with a sufficient number of men to guard them, and sailed up the river in his boats for thirty-three miles, till he came to Cruces, where it ceases to be navigable. He then proceeded by land to Panama, which was only five leagues distant. Upon a large and extensive plain that was before the city, he met with a considerable body of troops, whom he put to flight with the greatest ease, and entered into the city, that was now abandoned.

Here were found prodigious treasures concealed in the wells and caves. Some valuable commodities were taken upon the boats that were left aground at low water. In the neighbouring forests were also found several rich deposits. But the party of freebooters who were making incursions into the country, little satisfied with this booty, exercised the most shocking tortures on the Spaniards, negroes, and Indians, they discovered, to oblige them to confess where they had secreted their own as well as their masters riches. A beggar, accidentally going into a castle that had been deserted through fear, found some apparel that he put on. He had scarcely dressed himself in this manner, when he was perceived by these pirates, who demanded of him where his gold was. The unfortunate man shewed them the ragged clothes he had just thrown off. He was instantly tortured; but, as he made no discovery, he was given up to some slaves, who put an end to his life. Thus the treasure the Spaniards had acquired in the New World by massacres and tortures, were restored again in the same manner.

In the midst of such scenes of horror, the savage Morgan fell in love. His character was not likely to inspire the object of his attachment with favourable sentiments towards him. He was resolved therefore to subdue by force the beautiful Spaniard that inflamed and tormented him. *Stop*, cried she to this savage, as she sprung with eagerness from his arms. *Stop: thinkest thou then that thou canst ravish my honour from me, as thou hast wrested from me my fortune and my liberty? Be assured that I can die, and be revenged.* Having said this, she drew out a poniard from under her gown, which she would have plunged into his heart, had he not avoided the blow.

But Morgan, still inflamed with a passion which this determined resistance had turned into rage, instead of the tenderness and attention he had made use of to prevail upon his captive, now proceeded to treat her with the greatest inhumanity. The fair Spaniard, immoveably resolute, stimulated, at the same time that she resisted, the frantic desires of Morgan; till at last the pirates, expressing their resentment at being kept so long in a state of inactivity, by a caprice which appeared extravagant to them, he was under the necessity of listening to their complaints, and giving up his pursuit. Panama was burnt. They then set sail with a great number of prisoners, who were ransomed a few days after, and came to the mouth of the Chagre with a prodigious booty.

Before the break of the day that had been fixed upon for the division of the spoil, Morgan, while the rest of the pirates were in a dead sleep, with the principal freebooters of his own country, sailed for Jamaica, in a vessel which he had laden with the rich spoils of a city, that served as the staple of commerce between the Old and the New World. This instance of treachery unheard of before; excited a rage and resentment not to be described. The English pursued the robber, in hopes of wresting from him the booty of which their right and their avidity had been frustrated. The French; though sharers in the same loss, retired to the island of Tortuga, from whence they made several expeditions: but they were all trifling, till, in the year 1683, they attempted one of the greatest importance.

The plan of this expedition was formed by Van Horn,

a native of Ostend, though he had served all his life among the French. His intrepidity would never let him suffer the least signs of cowardice among those who were associated with him. In the heat of an engagement he went about his ship, successively observed his men, and immediately killed those who shrunk at the sudden report of a pistol, gun, or cannon. This extraordinary discipline had made him become the terror of the coward, and the idol of the brave. In other respects, he readily shared with the men of spirit and bravery the immense riches that were acquired by so truly warlike a disposition. When he went upon these expeditions, he generally sailed in his frigate, which was his own property. But these new designs requiring greater numbers to carry them into execution, he took to his assistance Grammont, Godfrey, and Jonqué, three Frenchmen, distinguished by their exploits, and Lawrence de Graff, a Dutchman, who had signalized himself still more than they. Twelve hundred freebooters joined themselves to these famous commanders, and sailed in six vessels for Vera Cruz.

The darkness of the night favoured their landing, which was effected at three leagues from the place, where they arrived without being discovered. The governor, the fort, the barracks, and the posts of the greatest consequence; every thing, in a word, that could occasion any resistance, was taken by break of day. All the citizens, men, women, and children, were shut up in the churches, where they had fled for shelter. At the door of each church were placed barrels of gunpowder to blow up the building. A freebooter, with a lighted match, was to set fire to it upon the least appearance of an insurrection. While the city was kept in such terror, it was easily pillaged; and, after the freebooters had carried off what was most valuable, they made a proposal to the citizens who were kept prisoners in the churches, to ransom their lives and liberties, by a contribution of ten millions of livres [416,666l. 13s. 4d.] These unfortunate people, who had neither eaten nor drunk for three days, cheerfully accepted the terms that were offered them. Half of the money was paid the same day: the other part was expected from the inland parts of the country; when

there appeared, on an eminence, a considerable body of troops advancing, and near the port a fleet of seventeen ships from Europe. At the sight of this armament, the freebooters, without any marks of surprise, retreated quietly with fifteen hundred slaves they had carried off with them, as a trifling indemnification for the rest of the money they expected, the settling of which they referred to a more favourable opportunity. These russians sincerely believed, that whatever they pillaged or exacted by force of arms, upon the coasts where they made a descent, was their lawful property, and that God and their arms gave them an undoubted right not only to the capital of these contributions they compelled the inhabitants to sign a written engagement to fulfil, but even to the interest of that part of the sum that was not yet paid.

Their retreat was equally glorious and daring. They boldly sailed through the midst of the Spanish fleet, which let them pass without firing a single gun; and were, in fact, rather afraid of being attacked and beaten. The Spaniards would not probably have escaped so easily, and with no other inconvenience, but such as arose from their fears, if the vessels of the pirates had not been laden with riches, or if the Spanish fleet had been freighted with any other effects but such merchandize as were little valued by these pirates.

A year had scarce elapsed since their return from Mexico, when on a sudden they were all seized with the rage of going to plunder the country of Peru. They expected, undoubtedly, to find greater treasures upon a sea little frequented, than upon one so long exposed to plunder. The French and English, and even the pirate associations of these two nations, projected this plan at the same time, without having concerted it together. Four thousand men directed their course to this part of the new hemisphere. Some of them came by the continent, and others by the straits of Magellan, to the place that was the object of their wishes. If the intrepidity of these barbarians had been directed by a skilful and respectable commander, to one single uniform end, this important colony would have been lost to Spain. But their natural character was an invincible obstacle to so rare an union; for they al-

ways formed themselves into several distinct bodies, sometimes into so few in number as ten or twelve, who acted together, or separately, as the most trifling caprice directed. Grogner, Lécuyer, Picard, and le Sage, were the most distinguished officers among the French : David, Samms, Peter, Wilner, and Townley, among the English.

Such of those adventurers as had got into the South sea by the straits of Darien, seized upon the first vessels they found upon the coast. Their associates, who had sailed in their own vessels, were not much better provided. Weak, however, as they were, they beat, sunk, or took, all the ships that were fitted out against them. The Spaniards then suspended their navigations. The freebooters were continually obliged to make descents upon the coasts, to get provisions ; or to go by land, in order to plunder those cities where the booty was secured. They successively attacked Seppo, Penbla-Neuvo, Leon, Reulejo, Pueblo-Viejo, Chiriquita, Esparso, Granada, Villia, Nicoya, Tecoantepec, Mucmeluna, Chuluteca, New Segovia, and Guayaquil, the most considerable of all these places.

As Grogner was returning home from one of those rapid expeditions, he found that a defile through which he was to pass was occupied by some battalions that were intrenched, who offered not to impede his retreat, provided he would consent to release the prisoners he had taken. *If, said he, you would have my prisoners, you must cut their irons asunder with your sabres ; with respect to my passage, my sword secures that to me.* This answer gained him a victory, and he pursued his march unmolested.

Universal terror prevailed throughout the empire ; the approach of the freebooters, and even the fear of their arrival, dispersed the people. The Spaniards, grown effeminate by the most extravagant luxury, enervated by the peaceful exercise of their tyranny, and reduced to the state of their slaves, never waited for the enemy, unless they were at least twenty to one ; and even then they were beaten. They retained no impression of the pride and nobility of their origin. They were so much degenerated, that they had lost all ideas of the art of war, and

were even scarce acquainted with the use of fire-arms. They were but little better than the Americans, whom they trampled upon. This extraordinary want of courage was increased, from the idea they had conceived of the ferocious men who attacked them. Their monks had drawn them with the same hideous features with which they represented devils; and they themselves had overcharged the picture. Such a representation, the offspring of a wild and terrified imagination, equally imprinted on every mind aversion and terror.

Notwithstanding the excess of their resentment, the Spaniards only recked their revenge upon their foes when they were no more able to inspire terror. As soon as the buccaneers had quitted the place they had plundered, and if any of them had been killed in the attack, the body was dug up again, mutilated, or made to pass through the various kinds of torture that would have been practised upon the man had he been alive. This abhorrence of the freebooters was extended even to the places on which they had exercised their cruelties. The cities they had taken were excommunicated; the very walls and soil of the places which had been laid waste were anathematized, and the inhabitants abandoned them for ever.

This rage, equally impotent and childish, could only contribute to embolden that of their enemies. As soon as they took a town, it was directly set on fire, unless a sum proportioned to its value was given to save it. The prisoners taken in battle were massacred without mercy, if they were not ransomed by government, or by individuals: gold, pearls, or precious stones, were the only things accepted of for the payment of their ransom. Silver being too common, and too weighty in proportion to its value, would have been troublesome to them. In a word, the chances of fortune, that seldom leave guilt unpunished, nor adversity without a compensation for its sufferings, atoned for the crimes committed in the conquest of the New World, and the Indians were amply avenged of the Spaniards.

But it happened in this, as it generally does in events of this nature, that those who committed such outrages

did not long enjoy the fruits of them. Several of them died in the course of these piracies, from the effects of the climate, from distress or debauchery. Some were shipwrecked in passing the straits of Magellan, and at Cape Horn. Most of those who attempted to get to the northern sea by land fell into the ambuscade that was laid for them, and lost either their lives or the booty they had acquired. The English and French colonies gained very little by an expedition that lasted four years, and found themselves deprived of their bravest inhabitants.

While such piracies were committed on the southern ocean, the northern was threatened with the same by Grammont. He was a native of Paris, by birth a gentleman, and had distinguished himself in a military capacity in Europe; but his passion for wine, gaming, and women, had induced him to join the pirates. His virtues, perhaps, were sufficient to have atoned for his vices. He was affable, polite, generous, and eloquent; he was endued with a sound judgment, and was a person of approved valour, which soon made him be considered as the chief of the French freebooters. As soon as it was known that he had taken up arms, he was immediately joined by a number of brave men. The governor of St. Domingo, who had at length prevailed upon his master to approve of the project, equally wise and just, of fixing the pirates to some place, and inducing them to become cultivators, was desirous of preventing the concerted expedition, and forbade it in the king's name. Grammont, who had a greater share of sense than his associates, was not on that account more inclined to comply, and sternly replied, *How can Lewis disapprove of a design he is unacquainted with, and which hath been planned only a few days ago?* This answer highly pleased all the freebooters, who directly embarked, in 1685, to attack Campeachy.

They landed without opposition. But, at some distance from the coast, they were attacked by eight hundred Spaniards, who were beaten, and pursued to the town, where both parties entered at the same time. The cannon they found there was immediately levelled against the citadel. As it had very little effect, they were contriving some stratagem to enable them to become masters

of the place, when intelligence was brought that it was abandoned. There remained in it only a gunner, an Englishman, and an officer of such signal courage, that he chose rather to expose himself to the greatest extremities, than basely to fly from the place with the rest. The commander of the buccaneers received him with marks of distinction, generously released him, gave him up all his effects, and besides complimented him with some valuable presents: such influence have courage and fidelity, even on the minds of those who seem to violate all the rights of society.

The conquerors of Campeachy spent two month in searching all the environs of the city, for twelve or fifteen leagues, carrying off every thing that the inhabitants, in their flight, thought they had preserved. When all the treasure they had collected from every quarter was deposited in the ships, a proposal was made to the governor of the province, who still kept the field with nine hundred men, to ransom his capital city. His refusal determined them to burn it, and demolish the citadel. The French, on the festival of St. Louis, were celebrating the anniversary of their king, and in the transports of their patriotism, intoxication, and national love of their prince, they burnt to the value of a million [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] of logwood; a part, and a very considerable one too, of the spoil they had made. After this singular and extravagant instance of folly, of which Frenchmen only could boast, they returned to St. Domingo.

The little advantage which the English and French freebooters had made by their last expeditions upon the continent had insensibly led them to have recourse to their usual piratical expeditions upon the sea. Both were employed in attacking the ships they met with; when a particular train of circumstances again engaged the French in that course, which every thing had rendered them dissatisfied with.

A few enterprising men had fitted out, in 1697, in the ports of France, and under the sanction of government, seven ships of the line, and a proportionate number of inferior vessels. This fleet, commanded by Commodore Pointis, conveyed troops for landing; and its destination

was against Carthagena, one of the richest and best fortified towns of the New World. It was expected that this expedition would be attended with great difficulties, but it was hoped that they would be surmounted, if the buccaneers would assist in it, which they did engage to do, from motives of complaisance to Ducaffe, governor of St. Domingo, who was, and deserved to be, their idol.

These men, whose boldness could not be restrained, did still more than was expected from them. No sooner had they perceived a small breach in the fortifications of the lower town, than they stormed the place, and planted their standards upon the walls. They carried the other works with the same intrepidity. The town surrendered, and its submission was owing to the buccaneers.

All kinds of enormities succeeded this event. The general, who was an unjust, covetous, and cruel man, broke every article of the capitulation. Although the apprehensions of an army that was collecting in the inland country, had made him consent that the inhabitants should keep half of their moveable effects, yet every thing was given up to the most horrible plunder. The officers were the first thieves; and it was not till they had gorged themselves with the spoils, that the soldiers were suffered to ransack the houses. As for the buccaneers, they were kept in employment out of the town, while the treasure was seized.

Pointis pretended that the spoils did not exceed seven or eight millions of livres [from 291,666l. 13s. 4d. to 333,333l. 6s. 8d.] Ducaffe valued them at 30,000,000 [1,250,000l.] and others at 40,000,000 [1,666,666l. 10s. 4d.] The buccaneers, according to agreement, were to receive one quarter of the whole, whatever it might be. They were however given to understand, that their profit would only amount to 40,000 crowns [5000l.]

The ships had set sail, when the proposal was made to these interpid men, who had decided the victory. Enraged at this treatment, which so evidently affected their rights, and disappointed their expectations, they resolved immediately to board the vessel called the

Scepire, where Pointis himself was, and which, at that time, was too far distant from the rest of the ships to expect to be assisted by them. This infamous commander was upon the point of being massacred, when one of the malcontents cried out: *Bretbren, why should we attack this rascal? He hath carried off nothing that belongs to us. He hath left our share at Carthage, and there we must go to recover it.* This proposal was received with general applause. A savage joy at once succeeded that gloomy melancholy which had seized them; and, without further deliberation, all their ships sailed towards the city.

As soon as they had entered the city, without meeting with any resistance, the buccaneers shut up all the men in the great church, and spoke to them in the following words:

"We are not ignorant that you consider us as men void of faith and of all religion, as infernal beings rather than men. The abhorrence you have of us hath been manifested by the opprobrious terms with which you affect to describe us; and your mistrust of us, by your refusing to treat with us of your capitulation. You see us here armed, and capable of avenging ourselves. The paleness visible upon your countenances plainly shews that you expect the most severe treatment; and your conscience tells you, no doubt, that you deserve it. Be at length undeceived, and acknowledge, in this instance, that the injurious appellations with which you stigmatize us are not to be applied to us, but to the infamous general under whose command we lately fought. The traitor to whom we have opened the gates of the city, which he would never have entered without our assistance, hath seized upon the spoils acquired at our hazard, and by our courage; and, by this act of injustice, hath compelled us to return to you. Our moderation must justify our sincerity. We will quit your city immediately, upon your delivering 5,000,000 of livres [208,333l. 6s. 8d.] into our hands. This is the whole of our claim; and we pledge our honour to you, that we will instantly retreat. But if you refuse us so moderate a contribution,

“ look at our fabres : we swear by them that we will
“ spare no person ; and when the misfortunes which
“ threaten you shall come upon you, and upon your
“ wives and children, accuse none but yourselves and
“ the worthless Pointis, whom you are at liberty to load
“ with all kinds of execrations.”

After this discourse, a sacred orator mounted the pulpit, and made use of the influence that his character, his authority, and his eloquence gave him, to persuade his hearers to yield up, without reserve, all the gold, silver, and jewels they had. The collection made after the sermon not furnishing the sum required, the city was ordered to be plundered. From the houses, they proceeded to pillage the churches, and even the tombs, but with no great success ; and the instruments of torture were at length produced.

Two of the citizens of the greatest distinction were seized, and after them two more, in order to endeavour to extort from them where the public money, as well as that of individuals, was concealed. They all answered, separately, with so much candour, as well as firmness, that they were ignorant of it, that avarice itself was disarmed. Some muskets were, however, fired off, to induce a belief that these unfortunate men had been shot. Every one apprehended the same fate ; and that, very evening one million of livres [41,666l. 13s. 4d.] was brought into the freebooters. The following days produced also something more. Despairing, at length, to add any thing to what they had already amassed, they set sail. Unfortunately they fell in with a fleet of Dutch and English ships, both those nations being then in alliance with Spain, and several of their small vessels were either taken or sunk : the rest escaped to St. Domingo.

Such was the last memorable event in the history of the freebooters.

The separation of the English and French, when the war, on account of the prince of Orange, divided the two nations ; the successful means they both made use of to promote the cultivation of land in their colonies, by the assistance of these enterprising men ; the prudence that was shewn, in fixing the most distinguished among them,

and intrusting them with civil and military employments; the protection they were under a necessity of affording successively to the Spanish settlements, which, till then, had been a general object of plunder: all these circumstances, and various others, beside the impossibility there was of supplying the place of so many extraordinary men, who were continually dropping off, concurred to put an end to the most singular society that had ever existed. Without any regular system, without laws, without any degree of subordination, and even without any fixed revenue, they became the astonishment of the age in which they lived, as they will also be of posterity. They would have subdued all America, had they been animated with the spirit of conquest, as they were with that of rapine.

England, France, and Holland, had sent, at different times, considerable fleets into the New World. The intemperance of the climate, the want of subsistence, the dejection of the troops, rendered the best-concerted schemes unsuccessful. Neither of these nations acquired any national glory, nor made any considerable progress, by them. Upon the very scene of their disgrace, and on the very spot where they were so shamefully repulsed, a small number of adventurers, who had no other resources to enable them to carry on a war, but what the war itself afforded them, succeeded in the most difficult enterprises. They supplied the want of numbers and of power, by their activity, their vigilance, and bravery. An unbounded passion for liberty and independence excited and kept up in them that energy of soul that enables us to undertake and execute every thing; it produced that vigour, that superiority in action, which the most approved military discipline, the most powerful combinations of strength, the best-regulated governments, the most honourable and most striking rewards and marks of distinction, will never be able to excite.

The principle which actuated these extraordinary and romantic men is not easily discovered. It cannot be ascribed to want: the earth they trod upon offered them immense treasures, collected ready to their hand by men of inferior capacities. Can it then be imputed to avarice? But would they then have squandered away in a day the

spoils acquired in a whole campaign? As they properly belonged to no country, they did not therefore sacrifice themselves for its defence, for the aggrandizing of its territories, or for the avenging of its quarrels. The love of glory, had they known it, would have prevented them from committing such numberless enormities and crimes, which cast a shade on all their brightest actions. Neither could a spirit of indolence and ease ever make men expose themselves to constant fatigues, and submit to the greatest dangers.

What then were the moral causes that gave rise to so singular a society as that of the freebooters? That country, where nature seems to have obtained a perpetual and absolute power over the most turbulent passions, where the intemperate riot and intoxication occasioned by public festivals was necessary to rouse men from an habitual state of lethargy, where they lived satisfied with their tedious and indolent course of life; that country became at once inhabited by an ardent and impetuous people, who, from the scorching heat of their atmosphere, seemed to have carried their sentiments to the greatest excess, and their passions to a degree of frenzy. While the heats of a burning climate enervated the old conquerors of the New World; while the Spaniards, who were so restless and turbulent in their own country, enjoyed, with the conquered Americans, a life habituated to ease and dejection; a set of men, who had come out of the most temperate climates in Europe, went under the equator, to acquire powers unknown before.

If we should be desirous of tracing the origin of this revolution, we shall perceive that it arises from the freebooters having lived under the shackles of European governments. The spirit of liberty, being repressed for so many ages, exerted its power to a degree almost inconceivable, and occasioned the most terrible effects that were ever exhibited in the moral world. Restless and enthusiastic men of every nation joined themselves to these adventurers, as soon as they heard of the success they had met with. The charms of novelty; the idea of, and desire excited by, distant objects; the want of a change in situation; the hopes of better fortune; the impulse which

excites the imagination to the undertaking of great actions; admiration, which easily induces men to imitation; the necessity of getting the better of those impediments that are the consequences of imprudence; the force of example; and the being equally partakers of the same good and bad fortune among those who have frequently associated together: in a word, the temporary ferment which all the elements together, with several accidental circumstances, had raised in the minds of men, alternately elevated to the greatest prosperity, or sunk in the deepest distress, at one time stained with blood, at another revelling in voluptuousness, rendered the freebooters a people wholly distinct in history; but a people whose duration was so transient, that its glory lasted, as it were, but a moment.

We are, however, accustomed to consider these ruffians with a kind of abhorrence. This they deserve, as the instances of fidelity, integrity, disinterestedness, and generosity they shewed to one another, did not prevent the outrages they perpetually committed against mankind. But amidst such enormities, it is impossible not to be surprised at a variety of brave and noble actions, that would have reflected honour on the most virtuous people.

Some freebooters had agreed, for a certain sum, to escort a Spanish ship, very richly laden. One of them ventured to propose to his companions to enrich themselves at once, by making themselves masters of the ship. Montauban, who was the commander of the troop, had no sooner heard the proposal, than he desired to resign the command, and to be set on shore. What! replied these brave men, would you then leave us? Is there any one among us who approves of the treachery that you abhor? A council was immediately called; and it was determined that the guilty person should be thrown upon the first coast they came to. They took an oath, that so dishonest a man should never be admitted in any expedition, in which any of the brave men present should be concerned, as they would think themselves dishonoured by such a connection. If this be not considered as an instance of heroism, must we then expect to meet with heroes in an age

in which every thing great is turned into ridicule, under the idea of enthusiasm?

Accordingly, the history of past times doth not offer, nor will that of future times ever produce, an example of such an association; which is almost as marvellous as the discovery of the New World. Nothing but this event could have given rise to it, by collecting together, in those distant regions, all the men of the highest impetuosity and energy of soul that had ever appeared in our states.

Their sword, and their daring spirit, which they exercised with such terrible effect in America, was the only fortune which these men of so uncommon a stamp possessed in Europe. In America, being enemies to all mankind, and dreaded by all; perpetually exposed to the most extreme dangers, they must necessarily have considered every day as if the last of their life, and they would, consequently, dissipate their wealth in the same manner as they had acquired it. They would give themselves up to all the excesses of debauchery and profusion; and, on the return from the fight, the intoxication of their victory would accompany them in their feasts; they would embrace their mistresses in their bloody arms; they would fall asleep, for a while, lulled by voluptuous pleasures, from which they would be roused only to proceed to new massacres. As it was a matter of indifference to them whether they should leave their bodies upon the surface of the earth, or underneath the waters, they must necessarily look upon life or death with the same coolness. With a ferocious turn of mind, and a misguided conscience, destitute of connections, of relations, of friends, of fellow-citizens, of a country, and of an asylum, and without having any of those motives which moderate the ardour of bravery, by the value which they attach to existence, they must necessarily have rushed, like men deprived of sight, upon the most desperate attempts. Equally incapable of submitting to indigence or to quiet; too proud to employ themselves in common labour; they would have been the scourge of the Old, had they not been that of the New World. Had they not gone to ravage those distant countries, they would have ransack-

ed our provinces, and would have left behind them a name famous in the catalogue of our greatest villains.

Causes that prevented the English and Dutch from making any conquest in America during the war for the Spanish succession.

AMERICA had scarce recovered from the ravages she had sustained; she had scarce begun to be sensible of the advantages she derived from the industry of the freebooters, who were now become citizens and husbandmen; when the old world exhibited the scene of such a revolution as alarmed and terrified the new. Charles II, king of Spain, had just ended a life of trouble and anxiety.

His subjects, persuaded that a descendant of the house of Bourbon alone was able to preserve the monarchy entire, had urged him, towards the close of his life, to appoint the duke of Anjou his successor. The idea of having the government of two-and-twenty kingdoms devolve to a family that was not only his rival, but his enemy, had filled him with the most gloomy apprehensions. But after several internal struggles, and numberless marks of irresolution, he at length prevailed upon himself to shew an example of justice, and greatness of soul, which the natural weakness of his character gave little reason to expect from him.

Europe, tired out, for half a century, with the haughtiness, ambition, and tyranny of Lewis XIV, exerted its combined forces to prevent the increase of a power already become too formidable. The fatal effects of a bad administration had entirely enervated the Spaniards; the spirit of superstition, and consequently of weakness, that prevailed then in France, had procured such advantages to the league, as are hardly to be paralleled in the instance of the union of several powers against a single one. This league gained an influence, that was increased by the victories, equally glorious and beneficial, it obtained every campaign. Both kingdoms were soon left without strength or fame. To add to their misfortunes, their calamities were a general object of joy, and none were touched with a sense of compassion at the miseries they experienced.

England and Holland, after having profusely lavished their blood and treasures in defence of the emperor, thought it necessary to attend to their own interests in America. This country invited them to rich as well as easy conquests. Spain, since the destruction of its galleons at Vigo, had no ships; and France, after having experienced that fatal reverse of fortune that had reduced her to the lowest ebb, had neglected her navy. This inattention was owing to a distant cause.

Lewis XIV, who, in his earlier age, was ambitious of every thing that might add to his glory, thought that something would be wanting to the splendour of his reign if he did not establish a considerable naval force. His numerous fleets were soon in a condition to balance the combined forces of England and of Holland, and conveyed the terror of his name to the extremities of the globe. But he soon lost this new species of grandeur. In proportion as his inordinate ambition drew upon him fresh enemies, as he found himself obliged to maintain a greater number of troops in constant pay, as the frontiers of the kingdom were extended, and as his forts became more numerous, the number of his ships decreased. He made use of part of the funds that were destined to support his maritime power, even before his necessities obliged him to it. The frequent removals of the court, public buildings, that were either useless or too magnificent, objects of ostentation, or of mere pleasure, and various other causes equally trifling, absorbed that part of the public revenue, which ought to have been employed in his maritime armaments. From that time, this part of the power of France began to grow weak: it insensibly declined, and was entirely lost in the misfortunes of the war that was raised for the Spanish succession.

At this period, the acquisitions the Spaniards and French had made in the West Indies were not put in a state of defence. They were, therefore, the more likely soon to become the property of Great Britain and the United provinces; the only modern nations who had established their political influence upon the principles of commerce. The vast discoveries of the Spaniards and Portuguese had given them, indeed, an exclusive posses-

sion of those treasures and productions that seemed to promise them the empire of the world, if riches could obtain it: but these nations, intoxicated as they were with the love of gold and the idea of conquest, had never in the least suspected that their possessions in the New World could support their power in the Old. The English and Dutch went into the contrary extreme; building their opinions upon the system of the influence they supposed America must necessarily give to Europe; a system which they not only misapplied, but carried to excess.

These two nations, one of which had no natural advantages, and the other very inconsiderable ones, had, from the earliest period, discovered the true principles of commerce, and pursued them with greater perseverance than might have been expected from the different situations they had been engaged in. Accidental circumstances having at first animated the industry of the poorest of these nations, she found herself very quickly equalled by her rival power, whose genius was more lively, and whose resources were much greater. The war, occasioned by a spirit of industry, and excited by jealousy, soon degenerated into fierce, obstinate, and bloody engagements. These were not merely such hostilities as are carried on between two different people; they resembled rather the hatred and revenge of one private man against another. The necessity they were under of uniting, in order to check and restrain the power of France, suspended these hostilities. The success they met with, which was, perhaps, too rapid and decisive, revived their former animosity. From the apprehension they were under, that each state was labouring for the aggrandizement of the other, they entirely neglected the invasion of America. Queen Anne, at length, availing herself of a favourable opportunity for concluding a separate peace, procured such advantageous terms, as gave the English a great superiority over their rivals the Dutch. From that time, England became of the greatest importance in the political system of Europe, and Holland was totally disregarded.

THE years succeeding the peace of Utrecht revived the ideas of the golden age to the world, which would be always in a sufficient state of tranquillity, if the Europeans did not disturb its peace, by carrying their arms and their dissensions into every quarter of the globe. The fields were now no more covered with dead bodies. The harvest of the husbandman was not laid waste. The sailor ventured to sail in every sea without dread of pirates. Mothers no more saw their children forced from them, to lavish their blood at the caprice of a weak monarch, or an ambitious minister. Nations did no longer unite to gratify the passions of their sovereigns. For some time, men lived together as brethren, as much, at least, as the pride of princes, and the avidity of the people would allow.

Remarkable activity that prevailed in the islands of America after the peace of Utrecht.

Although this general happiness was to be attributed to those who held the reins of government, yet the improvement of reason contributed, in some degree, to produce it. Philosophy then began to lay open and recommend the sentiments of benevolence. The writings of some philosophers had been made public, or dispersed among the people, and contributed to polish and refine their manners. The spirit of moderation had inspired men with the love of the more useful and pleasing arts of life, and abated, at least, the desire they till then had of destroying one another. The thirst of blood seemed to be assuaged, and all nations, with the assistance of the discoveries they had made, ardently set about the improvement of their population, agriculture, and manufactures.

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This spirit of activity exerted itself principally in the Caribbee islands. The states upon the continent can subsist, and even flourish, when the rage of war is kindled in their neighbourhood and on their frontiers; because the principal object of their attention is the culture of their lands, their manufactures, their subsistence, and internal consumptions. This is not the case with regard to those settlements which different nations have formed in the great archipelago of America. In these, life and

property are equally precarious. None of the necessities of life are the natural produce of the climate. Wearing apparel, and the instruments of husbandry, are not even made in the country. All their commodities are intended for exportation. Nothing but an easy and safe communication with Africa, with the northern coasts of the New World, but principally with Europe, can procure to these islands that free circulation of the necessities of life they receive, and of those superfluities they give in exchange. The more the colonists had suffered from the effects of that long and dreadful commotion that had thrown every thing into confusion, the greater was their vigilance in endeavouring to repair the losses their fortunes had sustained. The very hopes entertained that the general weakness would ensure a lasting tranquillity, encouraged the most cautious merchants to supply the colonists with goods in advance; a circumstance that contributed greatly to quicken the progress they made, which, notwithstanding all their care and attention, would otherwise have been very slow. These assistances insured as well as increased the prosperity of the islands, till a storm, that had been a long time gathering, broke out in the year 1739, and disturbed the peace of the world.

The islands of America are the cause of the war in 1739. Events in that war, and the termination of it.

The English colonies, but chiefly Jamaica, had carried on a contraband trade with the Spanish settlements in the New World, which custom had long made them consider as lawful. The court of Madrid becoming better acquainted with its interests, concerted measures to put a stop to, or at least to check, this intercourse. The plan might possibly be prudent; but it was necessary it should be carried into execution with equity. If the ships that were intended to prevent this fraudulent trade had only seized upon those vessels that were concerned in it, this measure would have deserved commendation. But the abuses inseparable from violent measures, the eagerness of gain, and perhaps too, a spirit of revenge, incited them to stop, under the pretence of their carrying on a contra-

band trade, many ships which in reality had a legal destination.

England, whose security, power, and glory, is founded upon commerce, could not very patiently suffer even her usurpations to be restrained; but was highly incensed when she found that these hostilities were carried to an excess inconsistent with the law of nations. In London, and in the house of parliament, general complaints were made against the authors of them, and invectives against the minister who suffered them. Walpole, who had long ruled Great Britain, and whose character and abilities were better adapted to peace than war, and the Spanish council, which shewed less spirit as the storm increased, concerted together terms of reconciliation. Those fixed upon, and signed at Pardo, were not approved by a people equally inflamed by its interests, its resentments, and by party spirit, and especially by the number of political writings that were constantly published on the subject.

The sovereign of any country, who forbids the liberty of discussing publicly matters of administration, and politics, gives an authentic attestation of his propensity to tyranny, and of the impropriety of his measures. It is just as if he were to say to the people: "I know full as well as you do, that what I have determined upon is contrary to your liberty, your prerogatives, your interest, your tranquillity, and your happiness; but I do not choose that you should murmur at it, I will never suffer you to be enlightened, because it is convenient to me that you should remain in that state of stupidity, which will prevent you from discerning my caprices, my vanity, my extravagant dissipations, my ostentation, the depredations of my courtiers and of my favourites, my ruinous amusements, and my still more ruinous passions, from the public good, which never was, is not, nor ever will be, as far as depends upon me and my successors, any thing more than a decent pretence, Every thing I do is well done, you may either believe or not, as you choose; but you must be silent. I will prove to you, by all the most extravagant and atrocious measures, that I reign for myself alone, and neither by you nor for you. And if any one of you should be rash

“ enough to contradict me, let him perish in the obscurity of a dungeon, or let him be strangled, that he may for ever be deprived of the powers of committing a similar act of indiscretion; for such is my will and pleasure.” In consequence of such declarations, a man of genius must be either silent or be put to death; and a nation must be kept in a state of barbarism, with respect to their religion, their laws, their morals, and their government, and in the ignorance of the most important things relative to their real interests, to their power, to their trade, to their splendour, and to their felicity; while all the nations around are improving themselves by the daring efforts, and the concurrence of numbers of enlightened men, whose views are directed to those objects alone that are really worthy of their attention. The reasoning of an administration, which prohibits information, is defective in every particular; the progress of improvement is not to be stopt, nor even to be checked, without manifest disadvantage. Prohibition hath no other effect than to irritate men, and to inspire them with an idea of rebellion, and to give all their writings a libellous tendency. It is doing too much honour to innocent subjects, to be alarmed at a few pages of writing, when two hundred thousand assassins are ready to execute the orders of government.

England teems daily with numberless productions of the press, in which all the concerns of the nation are treated with freedom. Among these writings some are judicious, written by men of understanding, or citizens well informed and zealous for the public good. Their advice contributes to discover to the public their true interests, and to assist the operations of government. Few useful regulations of internal economy are adopted in the state, that have not first been pointed out, modelled, or improved in some of these writings. Unhappy are the people who are deprived of such an advantage.

‘ But it may be said, that among the few sensible men who serve to enlighten their country, numbers are to be met with, who, either from a disgust to those in power, or from a desire of falling in with the taste of the people, or from some personal motives, delight in

‘ fomenting a spirit of diffension and discontent. The
 ‘ means generally made use of for this purpose, are to
 ‘ heighten the pretensions of their country beyond their
 ‘ just and legal bounds, and to make the people consider
 ‘ the smallest precautions taken by other powers for the
 ‘ preservation of their possessions, as visible encroach-
 ‘ ments. These exaggerations equally partial and false,
 ‘ establish prejudices, the effects of which occasion the
 ‘ nation to be constantly at war with its neighbours. If
 ‘ government, from a desire of preserving the balance
 ‘ of justice between itself and other powers, should re-
 ‘ fuse to yield to popular prejudices, it finds itself, at
 ‘ length, compelled to it.’

The liberty of the press is undoubtedly attended with these inconveniences ; but they are so trifling, and so transient, when compared with the advantages resulting from it, that they do not deserve our notice. The question is reduced to this : *Is it better that a people should be in a perpetual state of stupidity, than that they should be sometimes turbulent ?* Sovereigns, if ye mean to be wicked, suffer your people to write ; you will find men corrupt enough to serve you according to your evil desires, and who will improve you in the art of a Tiberius. If ye mean to be good, permit them also to write ; you will find some honest men who will improve you in the art of a Trajan. How many things are ye still ignorant of, before ye can become great, either in good or in evil !

The mob of London, the most contemptible of any in the universe, as the people of England considered in a political view are the first people in the world, abetted by twenty thousand young men, the sons of distinguished merchants, beset the parliament house with clamours and threats, and influence its deliberations. Such tumults are frequently excited by a party in the parliament itself. These despicable men, once roused, revile the most respectable citizen, who hath incurred their displeasure, and been rendered suspicious to them : they set fire to his house, and scandalously insult the most sacred characters. The tumult can never be appeased, unless they force the ministry to yield to their fury. This

indirect, though continual influence of commerce upon the public measures, was, perhaps never so sensibly felt as at the period we are speaking of.

England began the war with much superior advantages. She had a great number of sailors on foot. Her magazines were filled with warlike stores, and her dock-yards were in the most flourishing condition. Her fleets were all manned and ready for service, and commanded by experienced officers, who waited only for orders to set sail, and to spread the terror and glory of her flag to the extremities of the world. Walpole, by neglecting such great advantages, must not be censured as having betrayed his country. In this particular he is above suspicion, since he was never even accused of corruption, in a country where such charges have been often made without being believed. His conduct, however, was not entirely irreproachable. The apprehension he was under of involving himself in difficulties that might endanger his administration; the necessity he found of applying those treasures in military operations, that he had amassed to bribe and secure to himself a party, joined to that of imposing new taxes, which must necessarily raise to the highest degree the aversion that had been entertained both for his person and principles: all these, and some other circumstances, occasioned an irresolution in his conduct that was attended with the most fatal consequences. He lost time, which is of the utmost importance in every expedition, but particularly decisive in all naval operations.

The fleet that Vernon commanded, after having destroyed Porto-Bello, was unsuccessful at Cartagena, rather from the badness of the climate, and the misunderstanding and inexperience of the officers, than from the valour of the garrison. Anson's fleet was lost at the doubling of Cape Horn, which some months sooner might having been performed without danger. If we were to judge of what he might have done with his whole squadron, from what he actually performed with a single ship, it is not improbable but that he would at least have shaken the empire of the Spaniards in the South sea. A settlement that was attempted in the island of Cuba was

not prosperous. Those who intended building a city there all died. General Oglethorpe, after having opened the trenches for thirty-eight days, was forced to raise the siege of Fort St. Austin in Florida, vigorously defended by Manuel Montano, who had been allowed time enough to prepare himself against the attack.

Though the first efforts of the English against Spanish America were not successful, yet the alarm was not appeased. The navy, the character, and government of the English, were three great resources they had still left, sufficient to make the Spaniards tremble. In vain did France unite her naval powers, to act in conjunction with those of Spain. This confederacy neither checked the intrepidity of the common enemy, nor animated the minds of such as were overwhelmed with fear. Fortunately for both nations, as well as for America, the death of the Emperor Charles VI had kindled in Europe an obstinate war, in which the British troops were detained to support an interest that was extremely doubtful. The hostilities, commenced in distant countries with such great preparations, terminated at last insensibly in a few piracies that were committed on both sides. The most remarkable event that happened at that time was the taking of Cape-Breton, which exposed the fishery, commerce, and colonies, of France, to the greatest dangers. This valuable possession was restored to the French at the peace; but the treaty that gave it up was not less the object of censure.

The French, ever influenced by a spirit of chivalry, that hath so long been the dazzling folly of all Europe, imagine the sacrifice of their lives sufficiently compensated, if it hath contributed to extend the frontiers of their country; that is to say, when they have compelled their prince to the necessity of governing them with less attention and equity than he did before; but if their territory remains the same as it was before the war, they then think their honour is lost. This rage for conquest, excusable indeed in a barbarous age, but which more enlightened ones should never be reproached with, threw disgrace on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored to Austria all the places that had been taken from

her. The nation, two trifling and capricious to attend to political discussions, could not be convinced, that, by forming any kind of establishment for the infant Don Philip, an alliance with Spain was effectually secured : that she herself was thereby engaged to adjust, with the house of Austria, some interests of the greatest importance : that, by becoming guarantees to the king of Prussia for Silesia, two rival powers would, in consequence of such an arrangement, be formed in Germany ; to produce which happy effect had been the labour and care of two centuries : that, by restoring Friburg, and those towns in Flanders that had been destroyed, they would be easily retaken, if war should again be declared, and carried on with vigour : besides, that the number of land-forces might always be very easily diminished of fifty thousand men, and the saving which such a reduction would produce, might and ought to have been employed in increasing the navy.

If, therefore, the French nation had not even been obliged to attend to the management of its affairs at home, which were then in a very alarming state ; if her credit and commerce had not been entirely ruined ; if some of her most considerable provinces had not been in the greatest distress ; if she had not lost the key of Canada ; if her colonies had not been threatened with certain and immediate invasion ; if her navy had not been so entirely destroyed, as scarcely to have a ship left to send into the New World ; and if Spain had not been upon the point of concluding a separate treaty with England : independent of all these circumstances, yet the peace that was then made would have deserved the approbation of the most sensible and judicious men.

The ease with which Marshal Saxe could penetrate into the internal provinces of the Netherlands, was an object that particularly attracted the French. It will readily be allowed, that nothing seemed impossible to the victorious arms of Louis XV ; but it may be thought paradoxical to assert, that the English were extremely desirous of seeing the Dutch subdued. If the republic, which could not possibly separate itself from its allies, had been conquered, its inhabitants, filled as they were

with ancient, as well as present prejudices against the government, laws, manners, and religion, of their conqueror, would hardly have submitted to his dominion. Would they not certainly have conveyed their people, their stock, and their industry to Great Britain? And can there be the least doubt, whether such considerable advantages would not have been infinitely more valuable to the English than an alliance with the Dutch?

To this observation let us venture to add another, which, though not attended to before, will, perhaps, not seem less evident. The court of Vienna hath been thought either very fortunate, or very skilful, in having been able, by the means of negociations, to wrest out of the hands of the French those places which had been taken from them during the war. But would they not have been more fortunate, or more skilful, had they suffered their enemy to keep part of the conquests they had obtained? The period is now passed, when the house of Austria was equal, or perhaps superior, in strength to the house of Bourbon. Policy, therefore, should have engaged her to interest other powers in her fortune, even from the losses she had sustained. This might have been effected, by sacrificing something, apparently at least, to France. Europe, alarmed at the increasing power of this monarchy, which is naturally an object of hatred, envy, and fear, would have renewed that spirit of animosity that had been sworn against Lewis XIV; and more formidable leagues would necessarily have been formed in consequence of such sentiments. This general disposition of the people was more likely to have recovered the greatness of the new house of Austria, than the re-acquisition of a distant and limited territory, always open to an attack.

It is probable, however, that the French plenipotentiary who managed the negociation, as well as the minister who directed it, would have seen through the artifice. We do not even scruple to assert, that neither of these statesmen had any view of extending the French dominions. But would they have found the same penetration to unravel political designs in the council, to which they were responsible for their conduct? This

is a point we cannot presume to determine. All governments are generally inclined to extend their territories; and that of France's, from its constitution, equally so.

But whatever truth there may be in these reflections, it must be allowed, that the expectations of the two French ministers, who settled the peace, were disappointed. The principal object they had in view was the preservation of the colonies that had been threatened by the enemy. But as soon as the danger was over, this unbounded source of opulence was neglected. France kept on foot a large body of troops, retained in her pay a great part of Germany, and acted in the same manner as if another Charles V had threatened her frontiers, or another Philip II could have thrown the internal parts of the kingdom into confusion by his intrigues. She was not sensible that her superiority upon the continent was acknowledged; that no single power could venture to attack her; and that the event of the last war, and the arrangements settled by the last peace, had rendered the union of several powers against her impossible. A number of apprehensions, equally weak and trifling, disturbed her tranquillity. Her prejudices prevented her from perceiving that she had only one enemy really deserving her attention, and that this enemy could only be restrained by a considerable fleet.

The English, more inclined to envy the prosperity of others than to enjoy their own, are not only desirous of becoming rich, but of being exclusively so. Their ambition is gain, as that of the Romans was empire. They do not properly seek to extend their dominion, but their colonies. Commerce is the sole object of all the wars they are engaged in, and the desire of engrossing it all to themselves hath made them perform many great actions, and commit the most flagrant acts of injustice, and obliges them to persevere in the same conduct. Will the nations never be tired of that species of tyranny which sets them at defiance, and degrades them? Will they perpetually continue in that state of weakness which compels them to submit to a despotism they would be very desirous of annihilating? If they should ever form an alliance

among themselves, how could one single power be able to resist them, unless destiny were always in its favour, which it would be very imprudent to depend upon? Who is it that hath insured eternal prosperity to the English? and if it could be insured to them, would it not be too dearly purchased by the loss of a tranquillity which they could never enjoy? and would they not be too severely punished for it, by the alarms of a spirit of jealousy which ever obliges them to keep an anxious and watchful eye upon the slightest movements of the other powers? Is it very glorious; is it very pleasing; is it very advantageous; and is it very safe, for one nation to reign in the midst of others as a sultan in the midst of his slaves? Will a dangerous increase of outward enmity be sufficiently compensated by the baneful increase of inward opulence? Englishmen, avidity knows no bounds; but patience hath its end, which is almost always fatal to those who urge it to that extreme. But the passion for trade exerts such influence over you, that even your philosophers are governed by it. The celebrated Mr. Boyle used to say, that it would be a commendable action to preach christianity to the savages, because, were they to know only so much of it as would convince them of their obligation to wear clothes, it would prove of great service to the English manufactures.

A SYSTEM of this nature, which the *America was* English have scarce ever lost sight of, *the cause of the* discovered itself more openly in 1755, *war in 1755.* than it had ever done before. The rapid improvements made in the French colonies surprised every attentive mind, and awakened the jealousy of the English. Ashamed, however, to let it appear at first, they concealed it for some time under mysterious disguises; and a people who have pride or modesty enough to term negotiations the *artillery of their enemies*, did not scruple to employ all the windings and artifices of the most insidious policy.

France, alarmed at the confused state of her finances, intimidated by the small number of her ships, and the inexperience of her admirals; seduced by a love of ease,

pleasure, and tranquillity, favoured the attempts that were made to deceive her. In vain did some able statesmen continually urge, that Great Britain was, and ought to be, desirous of a war; and that she was compelled to begin it, before the naval establishment of her rival had attained to the same degree of perfection as her trading navy. These causes of apprehension seemed absurd in a country where trade had been hitherto carried on by a spirit of imitation only; where it had been shackled by every species of restraint, and always sacrificed to finance; where it had never met with any real encouragement, and where men knew not, perhaps, that they were in possession of the most valuable and richest commerce in the world. A nation, that was indebted to nature for a most excellent soil; to chance for her colonies; to the vivacity and pliancy of her disposition, for a taste in those arts which vary and increase the enjoyments of life; to her conquests and her literary merit, and even to the dispersion of the protestants she had unfortunately lost, for the desire excited in other countries of imitating her: this nation, that would be too happy, were she permitted to enjoy her happiness, would not perceive that she might be deprived of some of these advantages, and insensibly sell a sacrifice to those arts employed to lull her into security. When the English thought there was no further occasion to dissemble, they commenced hostilities, without having previously paid any attention to those formalities that are in use among civilized people.

Did the nation, which is reckoned so proud, so humane, and so prudent, reflect upon what was doing? It reduced the most sacred conventions of nations among themselves, to the artifices of a perfidious policy; it freed them from the common tie that connects them, by discarding the chimerical idea of the right of nations. Did these people perceive, that they were fixing a constant state of war; that they were making peace a time of apprehension only; that they were introducing on the globe nothing but a false and deceitful security; that sovereigns were becoming so many wolves, ready to devour each other; that the empire of discord was becoming unbounded; that the most cruel and most unjust reprisals were authorised; and that arms were no longer to be laid aside? At that

time there was a half Themistocles in the ministry ; but there was not one Aristides in all Great Britain : since, far from exclaiming, in imitation of the Athenians, who were not themselves the most scrupulous men among the Greeks,—*the thing is useful, but it is not honest ; let it be mentioned no more ;* the English, on the contrary, congratulated themselves upon an ignominious act, against which the voice of all Europe was raised with indignation. Acts of hostility, without a declaration of war, when there is even no treaty of peace subsisting, is the proceeding of barbarians. Hostilities, against the faith of treaties, but preceded by a declaration of war, by what pretence soever it may be palliated, would be a disgusting act of injustice, if the habit of it had not been frequent, and if the shame of it did not light upon almost all the powers. Hostilities, without a declaration of war, against a neighbouring people, who are quietly reposing themselves upon the faith of treaties, upon the right of nations, upon a reciprocal intercourse of good-will, upon civilized manners, upon the same God, upon the same worship, upon the reciprocal residence and protection granted to the citizens of both nations in their respective countries : such hostilities are a crime, which, in every society, would be treated as murder on the highway ; and if there were any express code against it, as there is a tacit one, formed and subscribed to between all nations, we should then read the following sentence : **LET US ALL UNITE AGAINST THE TRAITOR, AND LET HIM BE EXTERMINATED FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH.** The nation that commits such a crime, pursues its interest with unbounded and shameless jealousy ; it shews that it is destitute of equity and honour ; that it despises equally the judgment of the present time, and the censure of posterity ; and that it hath more regard for its existence among nations, than for the colours it will be painted in in their history. If it be the strongest, it is a mean tyrant ; it is a lion, which debases itself to act the abject part of a fox. If it be the weakest, and be apprehensive for itself, it may, perhaps, be less odious, but it is equally base. How much more noble, and how much more advantageous, was the custom of the Roman people ! Let us open, as

they did, the gates of our temples ; let an ambassador be sent to the enemy's frontiers, and there let him declare war, by shaking the skirts of his garments, at the sound of the trumpet of the herald that attends him. Let us not massacre an enemy that sleeps. If we dip our hand into the blood of him who thinks himself our friend, the stain of it will never be wiped off. It will always call to mind the Macbeth of the poet.

Though a declaration of war were only a mere ceremony between nations, which seem to be bound by no ties as soon as they intended to massacre one another, yet it is very evident, that the British ministry were more than doubtful of the injustice of their conduct. The timidity of their measures, the perplexity of their operations, the prevaricating modes of justification they adopted, and the influence they in vain exerted to make parliament approve so scandalous a violation ; these, with several other circumstances, plainly discovered the guilt of their proceeding. If those weak ministers of so great a power had been as bold in committing crimes, as they appeared regardless of the laws of virtue, they would have formed a project of the most extensive nature. When they unjustly gave orders to attack all the French ships upon the northern coast of America, they would have extended these orders to every sea. The ruin of the only power that was capable of making any resistance, would have been the necessary consequence of such a strong confederacy. Its fall would have intimidated all other nations ; and, wherever the English flag had appeared, it would have commanded obedience in every quarter of the world. A success so remarkable and decisive would have made the multitude overlook the violation of public right, would have justified it to the political world, and the remonstrances of the wise would have been lost in the calms of the ignorant and ambitious.

The beginning of the war is unfavourable to the English.

A timid, but equally unjustifiable conduct, was attended with very contrary effects. The council of George II was hated, as well as despised, over all Europe ; and the events corresponded to

these sentiments. France, though unexpectedly attacked, was victorious in Canada, gained considerable advantages by sea, took Minorca, and threatened London itself. Her rival was then sensible of the truth of what men of understanding had long since observed in England, that the French united the greatest contrarieties in their character; that they blended virtues and vices, marks of weakness and strength that had always been thought inconsistent with each other; that they were brave, though effeminate; equally addicted to pleasure and glory; serious in trifles, and trifling in matters of importance; ever disposed to war, and ready to attack: in a word, mere children, suffering themselves, as the Athenians of old, to be disquieted and moved to anger for real or imaginary interests; fond of enterprise and action, ready to follow any guide, and comforted in the greatest misfortunes with the most trifling success. The English, who, according to a vulgar though strong expression of Swift's, *are always in the cellar or in the garret*, and know no medium, began then to be too much afraid of a nation that they had unjustly despised. A spirit of despondency succeeded to that of presumption.

The nation, corrupted by the too great confidence it had placed in its opulence; humbled by the introduction of foreign troops, and by the moral character and inability of its governors; weakened too by the collision of factions, which keep up an exertion of strength among a free people in times of peace, but which destroy their power in times of war; the nation, disgraced, astonished, and uncertain what measures to pursue; equally sensible of the distresses it had already been exposed to, as of those it foresaw, was incapable of exerting itself to avenge the one or prevent the other. All zeal for the common cause was confined to the granting of immense supplies. That the coward is sooner disposed to part with his money than the brave man, in order to ward off danger; and that the present critical situation of affairs required them not to consider who should pay, but who should stand forward to fight; these were truths, which, at that time, seemed to have been forgotten.

The French, on their part, were dazzled with some

instances of success that were of no consequence. Presuming that the surprise their enemies had been thrown into was a proof of their weakness, they involved themselves further than was consistent with their interest in the disturbances which then began to divide the German powers.

A system, which, if unsuccessful, must have been attended with the greatest disgrace, and, if fortunate, must have been destructive in the end, served to confound them. Their levity made them forget, that a few months before they had applauded the wise and enlightened statesman, who, being desirous to avoid a land war, which some ministers were willing to enter into, from their despairing of success at sea, had, with the vivacity and confidence peculiar to genius, addressed himself to them in the following words: *Gentlemen, said he, let us all, who are here present in council, go out, with torches in our hands, and set fire to all our ships, if they are useless to our defence, and are only conducive to make our enemies insult us.* This political infatuation threw them into the greatest difficulties. Errors of the cabinet were followed by military faults. The management of the army was subjected to the intrigues of the court. A series of bad success was the consequence of a perpetual change of commanders. This light and superficial nation did not perceive, that, even supposing, what indeed was impossible, that all those who were successively intrusted with the direction of the military operations had really been men of abilities, yet they could not contend with advantage against a man of genius, assisted by one of distinguished capacity. Misfortunes made no alteration in the plan that had been formed, and the changes of generals were endless.

While the French were thus deceived, the English, from a spirit of dejection, were inflamed with the utmost resentment: they changed a minister who had justly excited general dissatisfaction, and placed at the head of affairs a man who was equally an enemy to timid measures, to the royal prerogative, and to France. Although this choice was the consequence of that spirit of party which causes the greatest revolutions in England, yet it was such

as the circumstances of the times required. William Pitt had a soul formed for great designs; was distinguished by a species of eloquence that never failed to captivate his hearers, and by a character equally firm and enterprising. He was ambitious to make his country rise superior to all others, and at the same time to raise his own fame. His enthusiasm fired a nation which will always be inspired by a love of liberty. The admiral who had suffered Minorca to be taken was arrested, thrown into prison, accused, tried, and sentenced to death. Neither his rank, abilities, family, nor friends, could protect him from the rigour of the law. His own ship was fixed upon as the spot where the sentence passed upon him was to be put in execution. All Europe, at the news of this melancholy event, was struck with astonishment, blended with admiration and horror. It recalled the memory of the ancient republics. The death of Byng, whether guilty or not, proclaimed, in the most alarming manner, to those who were employed by the nation, what fate they must expect, if they betrayed the confidence reposed in them. Every man said to himself, in the instant of battle, it is on this field I must die, rather than with infamy on a scaffold. Thus the blood of one man, accused of cowardice, was productive of a spirit of heroism.

This system of holding out an example of terror to subdue the impressions of fear, was further strengthened by an emulation, that seemed to promise the revival of public spirit. Dissipation, pleasure, indolence, and often vice and a corruption of manners, occasion warm and frequent connections in most kingdoms of Europe. The English have less intercourse and connection with each other; they have, perhaps, less taste for social life than other nations; but the idea of any project that may be serviceable to the state immediately unites them, and they seem, as it were, animated by one soul. All ranks, parties, and sects, contribute to insure its success, and with such liberality as cannot be paralleled in those places where the notion of a particular native country does not prevail.

And, in fact, why should we be concerned for the glory of a nation, when we can expect no other return

for the sacrifices we make, than an increase of misery ; when victories and defeats are equally fatal, victories, by giving rise to taxes to pave the way for them ; and defeats, by occasioning taxes to repair them ? If there were not some little remains of honour subsisting in us, in spite of all the efforts that are made use of to stifle it, and which proves, that, under vexations of every kind, the people still retain some feeling for the disgrace of the nation, they would be equally affected with its prosperity or its misfortunes. Will they experience better treatment, whether the sovereign be victorious or conquered ; whether he acquire or lose a province ; whether trade should fall or prosper ? The zeal of the English is more remarkably distinguished, when the nation hath placed an implicit confidence in the minister who hath the direction of public measures. As soon as Mr. Pitt was made prime minister, a marine society was established, which, perceiving that there appeared a remissness in general to enter into the sea service, and disapproving the custom of pressing men into it, invited the children of the poorest class in the three kingdoms to become ship-boys, and their fathers sailors. They undertook to pay the expences of their voyage ; to take care of them in sickness ; to feed, cloth, and furnish them with every thing necessary to preserve their health during the time they were to be at sea. The king, moved by this instance of patriotism, gave them 22,500 livres [937l. 10s.] the prince of Wales 9000 livres [375l.] and the princess of Wales 4500 [187l. 10s.] The actors of the different theaters, whose abilities have not been treated with contempt by this enlightened nation, acted their best plays for the increase of so respectable an establishment. The theatres were never so much crowded as on this occasion. A hundred of these ship-boys, and a hundred of the sailors, clothed from a zeal that may truly be holden sacred, appeared upon the stage ; a decoration this, surely, not inferior to that arising from the multitude of lights, the elegance of dress, and the brilliancy of jewels.

*The English are
roused from
their lethargy.*

This public zeal, and attachment to the interests of the nation, animated the minds of all the English, and the effects

of it were displayed in the difference of their conduct. They ravaged the coasts of their enemies; beat them everywhere by sea; intercepted their navigation, and gave a check to all their forces in Westphalia. They drove them out of North America, Africa, and the East Indies. Till Mr. Pitt became minister, all the expeditions of the nation, made in distant countries, had been unsuccessful, and must necessarily have been so, because they had been ill-concerted. He, on the contrary, planned such prudent and useful designs; his preparations were conducted with so much foresight and dispatch; his means were so well adapted to the ends he wanted to obtain; he made such a prudent choice of the persons whom he intrusted with his designs; he established such harmony between the land and sea forces, and raised the spirits of the English to such a height, that his whole administration was a series of conquests. His mind, still superior to his glory, made him despise the idle clamours of those who censured what they called his profusions. He used to say with Philip, father of Alexander the Great, *that victory was to be purchased by money, and that money must not be spared at the expence of victory.*

They seize the French and Spanish islands.

Account of the author of these successes.

By such a conduct, and such principles, Mr. Pitt had at all times, and in all places, triumphed over the French. He pursued them to their most valuable islands, even to their sugar colonies. These possessions, so justly prized for their riches, were not, however, better secured. The fortifications that were erected there were constructed without judgment, and were falling to decay. These ruins were equally destitute of defenders, of arms, and of ammunition. Ever since the beginning of hostilities, all intercourse between these great settlements and the mother-country had been at an end. They could neither receive subsistence from it, nor enrich it with their productions. The buildings necessary for the carrying on of agriculture, were a heap of ruins. The masters and the slaves, equally destitute of the necessaries of life, were obliged to feed upon the cattle destined for the labours of husbandry. If any rapacious navigators ever reached

them, it was through so many dangers, that the colonists were obliged to pay for what they bought of these traders at a very advanced price, and to give them in exchange whatever they consented to take from them at the lowest. Though the colonists did not call in the aid of any foreign power to their assistance, yet it was not to be expected, that their attachments to their mother-country would induce them to make a vigorous defence against an enemy that might put an end to their distresses.

In this situation of affairs, ten ships of the line, some bomb-ketches and frigates, with five thousand land-forces, sailed from England, and arrived at Guadaloupe. They appeared before the town on the 22d January 1759, and the next day bombarded the town of Basse-Terre. If the besiegers had known how to take advantage of the terror they had spread, the island would have made a very short resistance: but the slowness, timidity, and irresolution of their operations afforded the garrison and the inhabitants leisure to fortify themselves in a pass that was only at the distance of two leagues from the place. From this spot they stopped the progress of the enemy, who were equally distressed from the heat of the climate and the want of provisions. The English, despairing of making themselves masters of the colony on this side, proceeded to attack it in another quarter, known by the name of Grande-Terre. It was defended by a fort called Fort Lewis, which made still less resistance than that of Basse-Terre, that had surrendered in four-and-twenty hours. The conquerors were again guilty of the error they had before fallen into, and suffered the same inconveniences from it. The event of the expedition began to be doubtful, when Barrington, who succeeded to the command at the death of Hopson, changed the plan of operations. He gave up the idea of penetrating into the country, and re-embarked his soldiers, who successively attacked the houses and villages upon the coasts. The ravages they committed obliged the colonists to submit. The whole island, after three months defence, surrendered on the 21st day of April, upon very honourable terms of capitulation.

The troops that had obtained this victory did not en-

gage in this expedition, till they had ineffectually threatened Martinico. Three years after, Great Britain revived a design that had been too hastily given up; but greater preparations and more effectual means were employed to carry it into execution. On the 16th of January 1762, eighteen battalions, under the command of general Monkton, and eighteen ships of the line commanded by admiral Rodney, the first sent from North America, and the latter from Europe, appeared before the capital of the island. The landing of the troops the next day was soon effected, without difficulty and without loss. To take possession of the eminences that were fortified and defended by Fort Royal, seemed to be a matter not so easily accomplished. These obstacles, however, were, after some warm engagements, surmounted, and the place, that would soon have been reduced to ashes by the bombs, capitulated on the 9th of February; and the whole colony did the same on the 13th. It is probable that the prosperity of Guadaloupe under the British government, contributed to bring about this general surrender; which might, and ought to have been delayed longer. Granada, and the other Leeward islands, whether subject to France, or which, though peopled by Frenchmen, were neutral, surrendered themselves, without making any resistance.

Even St. Domingo, the only possession the French still retained in the archipelago of America, was likely to fall into the hands of the English; and its loss seemed to be not far distant. If it had not even been known that this was the first conquest Great Britain would attempt, yet it could not be supposed that it would escape its avidity. Would this ambitious nation have checked the career of its own successes so far as to give up all thoughts of a conquest that would have completed its prosperity? This was a point that seemed not to admit of a doubt. The colony was generally known to be entirely without any means of defence, either within or without, and therefore incapable of making the least resistance. It was so sensible of its weakness, that it seemed disposed to surrender as soon as it should be summoned to do it.

The court of Versailles was equally astonished and

alarmed at the losses it had sustained, and at those it foresaw. It had expected such an obstinate resistance as would have been superior to every attack. The descendants of those brave adventurers, who had settled these colonies, seemed a rampart sufficient to repel all the forces of the British empire. They almost felt a secret satisfaction that the English were directing their efforts towards that quarter. The ministry had inspired the nation with the same confidence that possessed them, and it was the mark of a bad citizen to shew the least uneasiness.

It is an observation we may now be permitted to make, that events, which have once happened, will happen again. A people whose whole fortune consists in fields and pastures, will, if influenced by any degree of spirit, resolutely defend their possessions. The harvest of one year is the utmost they can lose, and whatever calamity they may experience, does not distress them to such a degree as to leave them without hopes of recovery. The case is very different with regard to the wealthy cultivators of these colonies. Whenever they take up arms, they run the risk of having the labours of their whole lives destroyed, their slaves carried off, and all the hopes of their posterity either lost by fire or plunder: they will therefore always submit to the enemy. Though satisfied with the government under which they live, they are less attached to its glory than to their own riches.

The example of the first colonists, whose perseverance could not be shaken by the most vigorous attacks, does not affect the truth of this observation. The object of the war was then the acquisition of territory, and the expulsion of the inhabitants; at present, a war waged against a colony is directed only against the sovereign of it.

The plan of attacking Martinico was laid by Mr. Pitt, though he was not in the ministry when it was subdued. The resignation of this great man drew the attention of Europe, and deserves to be considered by every one, who investigates the causes and effects of political revolutions. An historian, who ventures to write the transactions of his own age, hath seldom, it must be granted, sufficient lights to guide him. The councils of kings are so secret, that time alone can gradually withdraw the veil that surrounds

them. Their ministers, faithful depositaries of the secrets they have been intrusted with, or interested to conceal them, explain themselves no further than is sufficient to mislead the curious inquirer, who wishes to discover them. Whatever penetration he may possess, in tracing the source and connection of events, he is at last reduced to conjecture. If his conjectures happen to be just, still he is ignorant that they are so, or cannot depend upon them; and this uncertainty is scarcely more satisfactory than a total ignorance. He must therefore wait till prudence and interest, freed from the restraint of silence, shall unfold the truth; in a word, till some valuable and original records be produced for public inspection, wherein the latent springs on which the destiny of nations hath depended, shall be discovered.

These reflections should suspend the inquiries of the man who wants only to attend to the progress of political intrigues. They are dissolved as soon as they are formed. We could only collect separate parts of them, which could not be brought together unless by conjecture, which might be the further distant from the truth, in proportion as more sagacity had been displayed in the forming of it. We should often be likely to fill up with some great view, or with some profound speculation, a vacancy which presents itself, from our ignorance of some witticism, of some frivolous caprice, of some trifling resentment, or of some childish emotion of jealousy: for these are the wonderful levers with which the earth hath so often been moved, and will still be moved hereafter. If it be then prudent to say nothing of the obscure causes of events, it is at least the time to speak of the character of those who have conducted them. We know what they were in their infancy, in their youth, in a more mature age, in their family and in society, in private life, and in public affairs. We know what their natural and acquired talents were; their ruling passions, their vices, their virtues, their inclinations, and their aversions; their connections, their animosities, and their friendships; their personal and relative interests; the marks of favour or disgrace they have experienced; the means they have employed to obtain their high posts, and to maintain themselves in

them; the conduct they have observed with regard to their protectors and their dependants; the projects they have conceived, and the manner in which they have executed them; the character of the men they have employed; the obstacles they have met with, and the manner in which they have surmounted them: in a word, we know the success they have had; the reward they have obtained in consequence of it; the punishment they have suffered when they have miscarried; the praise or blame bestowed upon them by the nation; the manner in which they have ended their career, and the reputation they have left behind them after death.

We are desirous of penetrating into the soul of one of the greatest men of his age, and perhaps we can never do it at a more proper time. The most conspicuous actions only of a man's life are transmitted to posterity, which will, therefore, be deprived of a variety of simple and artless details, that enlighten the mind of an observer, who lived at the time they happened.

Mr. Pitt, after having rescued England from the kind of disgrace it had been exposed to in the beginning of the war, arrived to a height of success that astonished all the world. Whether he foresaw this or not, he did not seem to be embarrassed with it, and resolved to carry it as far as he could. The moderation which so many statesmen had affected before him, seemed to him to be only a pretence to conceal their weakness or their indolence. He thought that all states should exert their power to the utmost, and that there was no instance of one nation being able to become superior to another, and not effecting it. The parallel he drew between England and France confirmed him in his opinion. He perceived, with uneasiness, that the power of England, founded upon a trade which she might and would lose, was very inconsiderable, when compared with that of her rival, which nature, art, and particular circumstances, had raised to such a degree of strength, under favourable administrations, as had made all Europe tremble. Sensible of this truth, he therefore determined to deprive France of her colonies, and to reduce her to that state to which the freedom of the New World, sooner or later accomplished, will bring all nations that have formed settlements there.

The means necessary to complete this project, which was so far advanced, appeared to him absolutely certain. While the imagination of weak minds took shadows for realities, the greatest difficulties appeared trivial to him. Though the nation, of which he was the idol, was sometimes alarmed at his vast and uncommon enterprises, he was not in the least disquieted about them; because in his eyes, the multitude was like a torrent, the course of which he knew how to direct which way he would.

Perfectly indifferent with regard to fortune, he was still more so with regard to power. His successes had made his administration absolute. With the people he was a republican, with the nobles and the sovereign he was a despotic minister. To think differently from him, was a mark of being an enemy to the common cause.

He availed himself of the superiority he had gained, in order to excite the ardour of the people. Little influenced by that species of philosophy, which, divesting itself of the prejudices of national glory, to extend its views to the welfare of all mankind, tries every thing by the principles of universal reason; he kept up a violent and savage spirit of enthusiasm, which he called, and perhaps believed to be, a love of his country; but which was, in reality, nothing more than a strong aversion for the nation he wanted to oppress.

France was perhaps as much discouraged by this spirit of inveteracy, that constantly pursued her, as by the distresses she had undergone. The diminution, the exhausted state, or, to say the truth, the total ruin of her naval powers, afforded her a discouraging prospect for the future. The expectation that a fortunate success by land might occasion a change in the face of affairs, was merely imaginary. If one of their squadrons had destroyed one or several of those of her rival, the English would not have renounced any of their claims. This is one general rule; and another is, that whenever any power hath acquired a very determined superiority at sea, it can never lose it in the course of the war; more particularly, if that superiority can be traced from a distant cause, and especially if it proceed partly from the character of the nation. The superiority of one continent above another depends

entirely on the abilities of a single man, and may be lost in a moment: on the contrary, superiority at sea, as it results from the vigilance and interest of each individual in the state, must always increase, particularly when it is encouraged by national constitution; a sudden invasion can only put a stop to it.

Nothing but a general confederacy could have restored the balance of power; the impossibility of which Mr. Pitt plainly saw. He knew the restraints by which Holland was confined, the poverty of Sweden and Denmark, the inexperience of the Russians, and the little regard that several of these powers paid to the interests of France. He was conscious also of the terror which the English forces had spread among them all, the mistrust they entertained of each other, and the apprehension that each of them must have, that they should be distressed before they could receive assistance.

The affairs of Spain were particularly circumstanced. The ravages that laid waste the French colonies, and which every day increased, might easily extend to the settlements of the Spaniards. Whether this kingdom was not, or would not be, sensible of the danger that threatened it, its usual indolence accompanied it with regard to these great objects. At length, upon a change of ministry, a new system took place. Don Carlos endeavoured to extinguish the flame; but it was too late. His overtures were received with a contemptuous haughtiness. Mr. Pitt, having deliberately considered the extent of his power, answered every proposal that was made, in the following manner: *I will listen to them,* said he, *when you have taken the Tower of London sword in hand.* This mode of expression might disgust, but it was imposing.

Such was the situation of affairs when the court of France thought herself obliged to make overtures of peace to that of Great Britain. Both courts were equally apprehensive, and with good reason, that Mr. Pitt would oppose them. He consented to enter into a negotiation; but the event shewed, as sensible politicians had conjectured, that his intention was not to continue it. His design was only to furnish himself with sufficient proofs

of the engagements that the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great Britain, that he might make them evident to his country. As soon as he had gained this intelligence, he broke off the negotiation, and proposed declaring war against Spain. The superiority of the naval power of England above that of both these kingdoms, and the assurance he had that it would be infinitely better directed, inspired him with this confidence.

Mr. Pitt's system appeared, to distinguished politicians, the only important, and, indeed, the only reasonable one. The English nation had contracted such a load of debt, that it could neither free itself from it, nor support it, without opening to itself new sources of wealth. Europe, tired out with the grievances Great Britain had made her submit to, waited impatiently for an opportunity to disable her oppressor from continuing them. The house of Bourbon could not but preserve a strong resentment for the injuries it had suffered, and for the losses it had sustained; it could not but make secret preparations, and gradually work up a spirit of revenge, to which a combination of all its forces might insure success. These motives obliged Great Britain, though a commercial power, to aggrandise itself for its support. This cruel necessity was not so sensibly felt by the council of George the Third as Mr. Pitt desired. Moderation appeared to him a work of weakness, or of infatuation, perhaps of treachery; and he resigned his post, because he was not allowed to be the declared enemy of Spain.

May we venture to form a conjecture? The English ministry plainly saw that there was no possibility of avoiding a fresh war; but equally tired out and disgraced by the power Mr. Pitt had assumed, they were desirous of restoring that spirit of equality which is the spring of a republican government. Despairing of being able to raise themselves to a level with a man so highly esteemed, or of making him stoop to them, they united their forces to effect his ruin. As open attacks would only have turned against themselves, they had recourse to more artful methods. They attempted to sour his temper; the natural fire of his character laid him open to such a

snare; and he fell into it. If Mr. Pitt resigned his post through peevishness, he deserves to be censured for not having suppressed or mastered it. If he hoped, by this expedient, to humble his enemies, he shewed he had greater knowledge of affairs than of men. If, as he asserted, he resigned, because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide, we may be allowed to think that he was more strongly attached to his own personal glory, than to the interests of his country. But whatever may have been the cause of his resignation, nothing but the blindest, most unjust and most violent partiality, can venture to assert, that his virtues and abilities were merely the effect of chance.

However this may be, the first step the new ministry took was conformable to the principles of Mr. Pitt; and this was a kind of homage they were compelled to pay him. It was thought necessary to declare war against Spain; and the West Indies were to be the scene of these new hostilities. Experience had already discouraged them from making any attempts on the continent of America, and all their views were turned towards Cuba. Men of sense and understanding perceived that the taking of this island would not be attended with any apprehension of vengeance from the other colonies; that the empire of the gulf of Mexico would be secured; that the enemy, whose riches arose principally from the amount of its customs, would be deprived of all their resources; that the whole commerce of the continent would be seized upon, and the inhabitants would choose rather to deliver up their riches to the conqueror of their country, than to give up those commodities they had been used to receive from Europe; in a word, that the power of Spain would be so much reduced by this considerable loss, that it would be obliged to submit to any terms.

Agreeable to this idea, a fleet, consisting of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates, and about a hundred and fifty transports, with 10,000 troops on board, which were to be joined by 4000 more from North America, set sail for the Havannah. To arrive at this formidable place, it was determined to pass through the old strait of Bahama, not so long in extent, through more danger-

ous than the new one. The obstacles that were to be expected in this passage, little known, and too little attended to, were successfully surmounted, in a manner worthy the reputation that Admiral Pocock had acquired. On the 6th of July he arrived at the place of his destination; and the landing of the troops was effected without any opposition, at the distance of six leagues eastward of those dreadful fortifications that were to be taken.

The operations by land were not so well conducted as those by sea. If Albemarle, who had the command of the army, had been a man of abilities, equal to the commission he was intrusted with, he would have begun his attack by the city. The single dry wall that covered it could not have holden out four-and-twenty hours. It is probable, that the generals, the council, and the regency, who must infallibly have fallen into his hands by this success, which might so easily have been obtained, would have resolved to capitulate for the Moro. At all events, he would thus have prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions that were supplied from the city during the siege, and have secured the most likely means to reduce it in a very short time.

The plan he pursued, of beginning his operations by the attack of the Moro, exposed him to great distresses. The water that was near him was unwholesome, and he found himself under a necessity of procuring some at three leagues distance from his camp. As the sloop that were sent for this purpose might be attacked, it was thought necessary to post a body of fifteen hundred men on the eminence of Arosteguy, at a quarter of a league's distance from the town, in order to protect them. This body of troops, entirely detached from the army, and which could not be withdrawn or supported but by sea, was perpetually in danger of being cut off.

Albemarle, who might have judged of the disposition of the enemy from their not molesting the troops posted at Arosteguy, should have placed another body of men upon the public road leading to the city. By this step he would have been able almost to surround it; he would, most undoubtedly, have distressed it by famine, prevented all removal of the effects into the country, and opened a

less dangerous communication with Arosteguy, than by the detachments he was constantly obliged to send, in order to support this advanced body of troops.

The siege of the Moro was carried on without opening the trenches. The soldiers advanced towards the ditch, and were covered only with barrels of flints, which were, at length, exchanged for sacks of cotton, that were taken out of some merchant-ships arrived from Jamaica. This want of foresight occasioned the loss of a great number of men, always of great value, but more especially so in a climate where diseases and fatigues cause so great a consumption of them.

The English general, having lost the greatest part of his army, and finding the necessity, for want of troops, of reembarking in a few days, determined to attempt storming the castle: but a large and deep ditch, cut in the rock, was first to be passed; and no preparations had been made to fill it up.

If the faults of the English were very considerable, those of the Spaniards were still greater. Though apprized above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, they were not roused from their lethargy. The enemy was already upon their coasts, and they had made no provisions of balls of a proper size for their cannons, nor of cartridges; neither had they one single gun, or even a firelock, fit to make use of.

The great number of officers, of the land and sea service who were at the Havannah, occasioned, during some days of the siege, a great uncertainty in the resolutions, that could not be but favourable to the besiegers.

Three ships of war were sunk, to stop up the entrance into the port, which the enemy could not pass. The road into the harbour was by this means damaged, and three great ships lost to no purpose.

The most common prudence would have suggested, that the twelve men of war that were at the Havannah should have been got ready to sail. They could not possibly be of any service in defending the place, and it was a matter of some consequence to save them. But this was neglected. Neither did the precaution occur of setting them on fire, although this was the only way left to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The destruction of the body of English troops posted at Aroateguy, where they could not receive any assistance, might have been easily effected. This check would have put the besiegers to some difficulty in procuring water, would have deprived them of men, intimidated them, retarded their operations, and inspired the Spanish forces with some degree of confidence. But, far from making so easy an attempt, they did not attack, even in the open part of the country, any of the English detachments, though composed entirely of infantry, and which might have been opposed by a regiment of dragoons, and a great number of militia, that were provided with horses.

The communication of the city with the internal parts of the country was scarce ever interrupted, and yet none of those who had a share in the administration ever thought of conveying the royal treasure into the inland parts, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy.

The last instance of neglect served to complete the whole. In the middle of the ditch had been left a piece of rock, terminating in a point, and standing by itself. The English placed upon this a few tottering planks, which reached from the breach to the counterescarp. A serjeant, with fifteen men, passed over them at one in the afternoon, and concealed themselves among some stones that had fallen down. They were followed by a company of grenadiers and some soldiers. When they had collected about a hundred men, in the space of an hour, they got upon the breach, under no apprehension of being discovered, and found no men placed there to defend it. Velasco, indeed, informed of what had happened, hastened to save the place; but he was killed in coming up; and his death putting the Spanish troops that followed him into confusion, they surrendered to a handful of men. The neglect of placing a centinel to observe the motions of the enemy lodged upon the ditch, determined this great event. A few days after, a capitulation was entered into for the city, for all the places of the colony, and for the whole island. Independent of the great importance of this victory in itself, the conquerors found in the Havannah about forty-five millions [1,875,000*l.*] of silver, and

other valuable effects, which fully indemnified them for the expences of the expedition.

*Advantages
procured to
Great Britain
in the islands
by the peace.*

THE loss of Cuba, the centre of the power of Spain in the New World, made peace as necessary to the court of Madrid, as it could possibly be to that of Versailles, whose distresses were now brought to the highest pitch. The English ministry, at that time, consented to a peace; but it seemed a matter of much difficulty to settle the conditions. The successes of Great Britain had been astonishing in North and South America. But, however ambitious she might be, she could not flatter herself with the hopes of retaining all the conquests she had made. It was reasonable to suppose that she would give up the possessions she had gained in North America, as the advantages she might expect from them were distant, inconsiderable, and uncertain; and that she would be content with reserving to herself the sugar colonies she had lately acquired, which the state of her finances seemed more particularly to require. The increase of her customs, that was a necessary consequence of such a system, would have procured her the best sinking fund that could have been imagined, and which must have been so much the more agreeable to the nation, as it would have been obtained at the expence of the French. This advantage would have been attended with three others, very considerable. It would, in the first place, have deprived a rival power, and formidable, notwithstanding the faults it had committed, of its richest branch of trade. Secondly, it would have contributed to weaken it, from its being under a necessity of defending Canada; a colony, which, from the nature of its situation, must be detrimental to a nation that had long neglected its navy. Lastly, it would have kept New England in a closer and more absolute dependence on the mother country, a part of America that would always want to be supported against a restless, active, and warlike neighbour.

But though the council of George III should have thought it necessary to restore to their enemies a bad

country of the continent; and to reserve the valuable islands, yet they would not, perhaps, have ventured to adopt so judicious a measure. In other countries the faults of the ministers are imputed only to themselves, or to their kings, who punish them for their misconduct. In England, the errors of administration are generally the errors of the nation, who insist upon obedience to their will, though guided by caprice.

The English, who have complained of the terms of the last peace, when they have been shewn how far short they fell of the advantages they expected from them, had, however, in some measure, dictated those very terms themselves, by the tenor of their complaints, either previous to, or during, the war. The Canadians had committed some outrages, and the savages many acts of cruelty in the English colonies. The peaceable inhabitants, terrified at the distresses they suffered, and more so at those they feared, had caused their clamours to be heard even in Europe. Their correspondents, interested to obtain them a speedy and powerful redress, had aggravated their complaints. Those writers, who eagerly lay hold of every circumstance that can render the French odious, had loaded them with every species of invective. The people, exasperated by the report of the shocking scenes that were perpetually presented to its imagination, wished to see a stop put to these barbarities.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the sugar colonies, satisfied with the carrying on of their own commerce, and gaining a part of that of their enemies, were very quiet. Far from wishing the conquest of their neighbours settlements, they rather dreaded it, considering it as destructive to themselves, though advantageous to the nation. The lands of the French are so much superior to those of the English, that no competition could possibly have taken place. Their allies were of the same opinion, and followed the example of their moderation.

The consequence of so contrary a plan of conduct was, that the nation was extremely indifferent about the sugar colonies, but very anxious to acquire what they wanted in North America. Let us represent to ourselves the

situation of an enlightened man, who is convinced of the advantages of a project, which he is compelled to give up, by the mistaken notions of a deceived multitude, in order to adopt, in preference to it, some absurd schemes contrary to the general good, which will dishonour him, if he should pursue them, or which will expose him to danger, if he should refuse : let us represent him to ourselves, as employed by a sovereign, who will dismiss him, if his rebellious subjects should insist upon it ; and who cannot afford him any protection, if they should carry their fury so far as to demand his life : let us view him divided, as he must be, between the mistaken vanity which attaches him to his post, and the laudable pride which makes him careful to preserve his reputation : let us behold him alone, retired in his closet, and deliberating upon the steps he should take, amidst the tumult and clamours of the populace, collected round his house, and threatening to set it on fire : for such is the alternative, which hath been experienced, and will always be experienced, by those who guide the public affairs of a free country. There is scarce one single situation in the world, in which a propriety of conduct is not attended with inconveniencies on both sides. It is the property of real courage to adapt itself to those several circumstances and situations, whatever may be the result ; but such kind of courage is not often to be met with.

The ministry, which, in England, can never support its authority against the people, or, at least, cannot long maintain itself successfully against its general odium, turned all their views towards North America, and found France and Spain readily disposed to adopt such a system. The courts of Madrid and France gave up to the English all their former possessions, from the river St. Lawrence up to the Mississippi. Beside this, France ceded the islands of Granada and Tobago, and consented that the English should keep the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica, that had been considered as neutral, provided that, on her part, she might appropriate St. Lucia to herself. On these conditions, the conquerors restored to the allied powers all the conquests they had made in America.

From this time England lost the opportunity, which, perhaps, may never return, of seizing all the avenues, and making itself master of the sources of all the wealth of the New World. Mexico was in its power, as the English only were in possession of the gulf that opens the way to it; this valuable continent must, therefore, soon have become their property. It might have been allured, either by the offers of an easier government, or by the flattering hopes of liberty: the Spaniards might have been invited to shake off the yoke of the mother-country, which only took up arms to distress its colonies, and not to protect them; or the Indians might have been tempted to break the chains that enslaved them to an arbitrary government. The whole face of America might, perhaps, have been entirely changed, and the English, more free and more equitable than other monarchical powers, could not but be benefited by rescuing the human race from the oppressions they suffered in the New World, and by removing the injuries this oppression hath brought on Europe in particular.

All those subjects, who are victims of the severity, exactions, oppression, and deceit, of arbitrary governments; all those families that are ruined by the raising of soldiers, by the ravages of armies, by the loans for carrying on war, and by the infractions of peace; all men born to think and live as men, instead of obeying and becoming subject like brutes, would have gladly taken refuge in those countries. These, as well as a multitude of workmen without employment; of husbandmen without land; of men of science without any occupation; and numbers of distressed and unfortunate persons, would have flown into these regions, which require only just and civilized inhabitants to render them happy. Above all, the peasants of the north, slaves to the nobility, who trample upon them, would certainly have been invited there: those Russian peasants, who are employed as executioners to torture the human race, instead of cultivating and fertilizing the earth. Numbers of them would certainly have been lost in these transmigrations through extensive seas, into new climates; but this would have been an in-

*The British
did not suffi-
ciently extend
their views.*

finitely less evil than that of a tyranny, working by slow and artful means, and sacrificing so many people to the wills of a small number of men. In a word, the English would have been much more gloriously employed in supporting and favouring so happy a revolution, than in tormenting themselves in defence of a liberty, that excites the envy of all kings, and which they endeavour, by every method, to undermine and destroy.

This is a wish, which, though founded on justice and humanity, is yet, alas ! vain in itself, as it leaves nothing but regret in the mind of him that formed it. Must then the desires of the virtuous man for the prosperity of the world be for ever lost, while those of the ambitious and the extravagant are so often favoured by casual events ?

Since war had been the cause of so much evil, why does it not run through every species of calamity, that it may, at length, tend to procure some good ? But what hath been the consequence of the last war, one of those that hath been the most distressful to the human race ? It hath occasioned ravages in the four quarters of the globe ; and hath cost Europe alone above a million of its inhabitants. Those who were not its victims are now distressed by it, and their posterity will long be oppressed under the weight of the enormous taxes it hath given rise to. The nation, whom victory attended in all parts, was ruined by its triumphs. Its public debt, which, at the beginning of the war, did not exceed 1,617,087,060 livres [67,378,627l. 10s.] arose, at the conclusion of the peace, to 3,330,000,000 livres [138,750,000l.] for which it must pay an interest of 111,577,490 livres [4,649,062l. 1s. 8d.]

But it is time to quit the subject of war. Let us now proceed to consider by what means the nations, who have divided the great archipelago of America, that hath been the origin of so many quarrels and negociations, and hath given rise to so many reflections, have been able to raise it to a degree of opulence, that may, without exaggeration, be considered as the first cause of all the great events that at present disturb the peace of the globe.

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